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S PHAT
Jennifer Grossman

Victor Davis Hanson: IS LOYALTY DEAD?

NATIONAL REVIEW

Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat

Persevering in IRAQ

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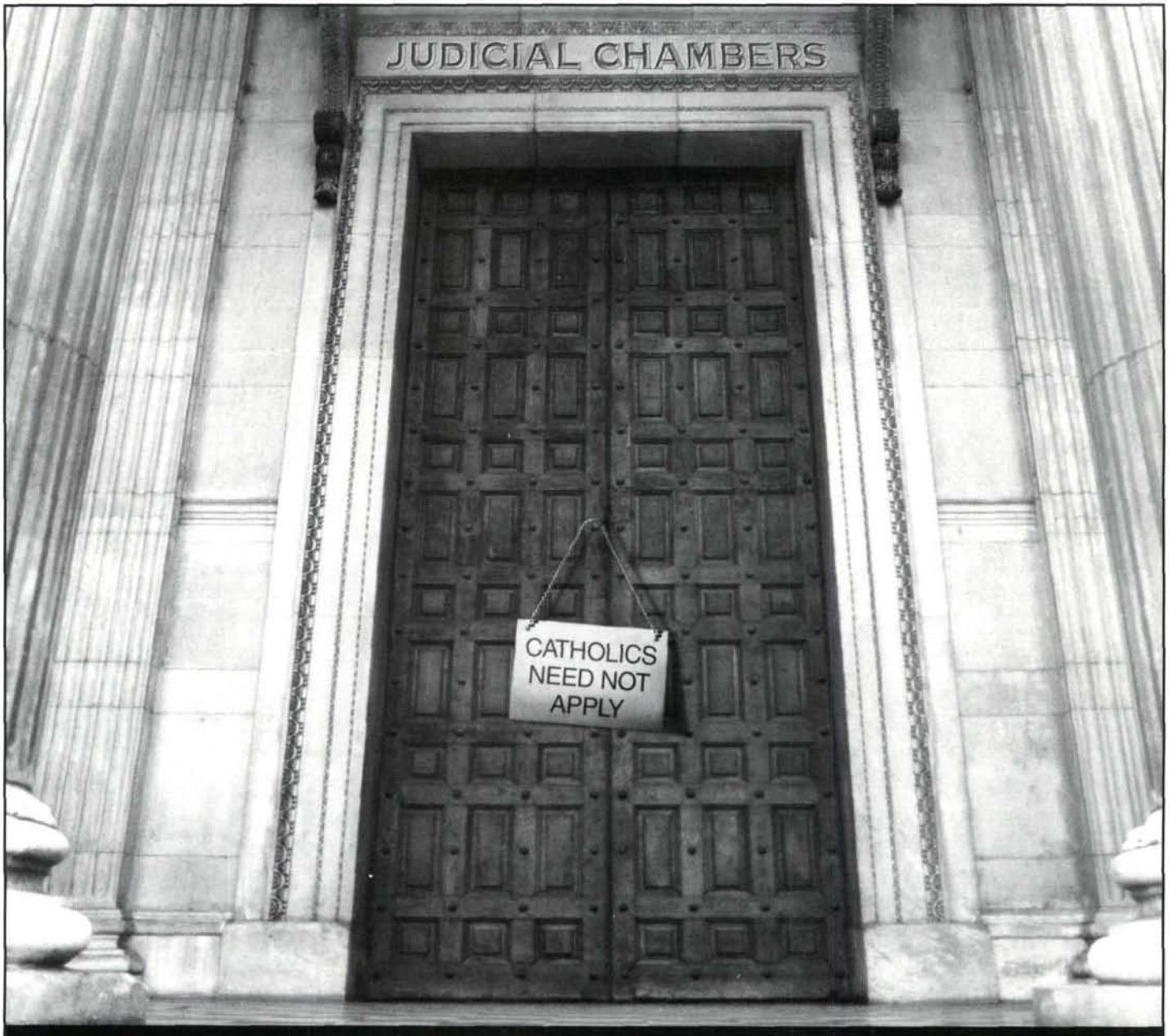

Why are some in the U.S. Senate playing politics with religion?

As Alabama Attorney General, Bill Pryor regularly upheld the law even when it was at odds with his personal beliefs. Raised a Catholic, those beliefs are shared by millions of Americans. But some in the U.S. Senate have attacked Bill Pryor for his "deeply held" Catholic beliefs. Now, they are filibustering his nomination to the federal bench. Don't they know the Constitution expressly prohibits religious tests for public office?

Bill Pryor is a loving father, a devout Catholic, and an elected Attorney General who understands the job of a judge is to uphold the law - not legislate from the bench. It's time for his political opponents to put religious values aside and give Bill Pryor an up or down vote. It's the right thing to do.

Call your Senator today and tell them to end the unconstitutional judicial filibusters. It's time they stopped playing politics with religion.

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■ CULTURE WATCH

The Perils of 'Fat Acceptance'

As Americans have grown fatter, two things have occurred: One is the rise of the billion-dollar diet industry, the other is the emergence of a culture of accommodation. In the lexicon of the latter, restrained eating is invariably described as "starving," gluttony is defended as "enjoying life," and corpulence is euphemized as "curvaceous." *By Jennifer Grossman*

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letters to the editor

MAJOR LEAGUE DEBATE

Few would quibble with the notion that one who relies on factual inaccuracies while writing about an industry that he does not understand is unlikely to produce sound analysis. Tim Marchman's recent article "Against Baseball Socialism" (Nov. 10) confirms this truism.

Mr. Marchman begins his analysis with data that are just flat wrong. For example, he asserts that the Anaheim Angels receive $13 million in revenue sharing. In fact, the club receives less than one-sixth of that amount. Moreover, without explanation, Marchman asserts that "player-development paths are more predictable than has been generally thought" and that clubs "can determine which young players are most likely to develop into stars." In reality, less than 28 percent of the players drafted in the first five rounds each year achieve one day of Major League service and less than 10 percent achieve three years of Major League service. Such statistics suggest that Mr. Marchman's assertions concerning predictability are not well founded.

Mr. Marchman also makes statements that are simply nonsensical. He claims that the Marlins success this year had nothing to do with revenue sharing but instead was due to "unexpectedly good pitching," a breakout season for Mike Lowell, and the signing of catcher Ivan Rodriguez. Surely it must have occurred to Mr. Marchman that without $23 million in revenue sharing it would have been impossible for the Marlins to retain Mike Lowell and to sign Ivan Rodriguez. Mr. Marchman also asserts that "a competitive-balance tax that no one pays" is of questionable utility. In reality, a tax that no one pays has, by definition, restricted high-spending clubs and reduced payroll disparity—which all economists agree should improve competition.

We appreciate NATIONAL REVIEW's interest in the national pastime. We can only hope that the next time you decide to cover baseball, you do so with greater accuracy.

Robert D. Manfred Jr.
Executive Vice-President,
Labor Relations & Human Resources
Major League Baseball
New York, N.Y.

TIM MARCHMAN REPLIES: *I am glad to hear from Mr. Manfred that the Anaheim Angels received less than a sixth of the $13 million I said they were due from the revenue-sharing pot. As I noted in my piece, though, that number is based on an estimate by the respected economist Andrew Zimbalist, whose numbers I trust more than those of an industry that claimed just two years ago that it was a half-billion dollars in debt. Perhaps if Mr. Manfred and his employers would release official revenue-sharing numbers and open Major League Baseball's books to independent review by disinterested auditors, those such as myself would be allowed to understand the industry better.*

Mr. Manfred's statement about how successful drafted players are likely to be is misleading; I can offer you a long sheet of odds showing how impossible it is to win a blackjack game, but that doesn't mean that players who stack the odds in their favor with smart, consistent play don't improve on those odds. And his statement about the Marlins is just obfuscatory rhetoric, replete with the bad faith that has characterized MLB's negotiations with the players' union for decades.

Without revenue-sharing money they could have afforded Lowell and Rodriguez, by not giving out bad contracts and by marshalling their resources wisely—tactics that work in any business. Further, Mr. Manfred seems blind to the irony of a team based in the sixth-largest metropolitan region in which baseball is played in America receiving $23 million. Nothing he says contradicts the point of my article, which is that a system allowing for that is a bad one.

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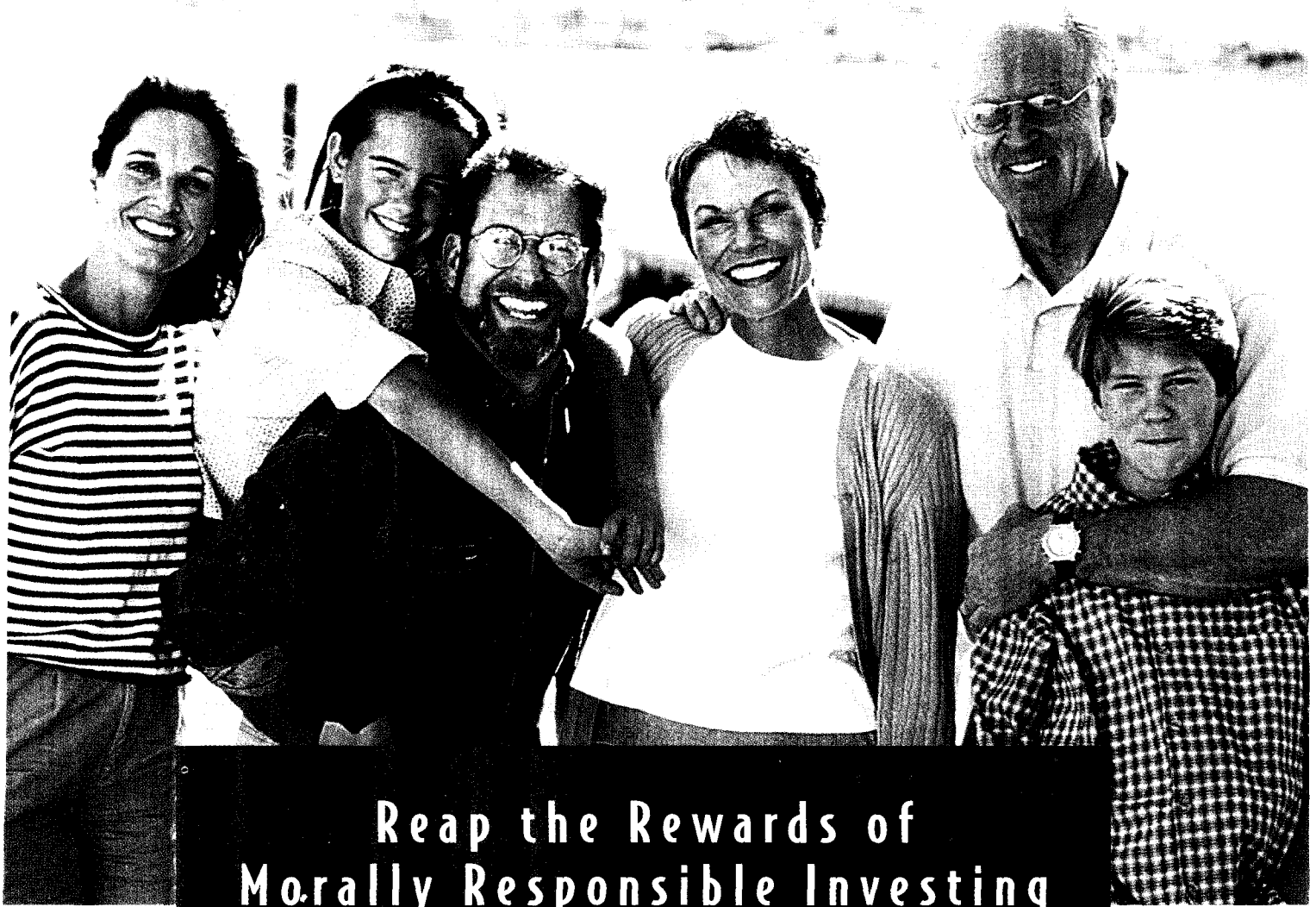

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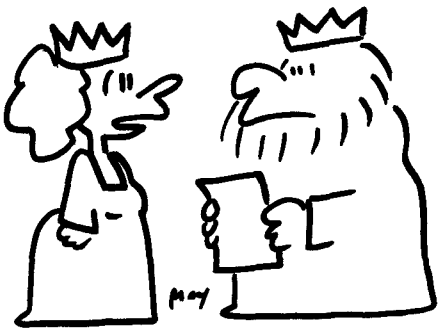

"Abolish serfdom?—But everybody would have to hire temps."

■ In *Newsweek* poll, President **Bush** earns 51 percent approval rating and leads all prospective Democratic challengers in matchups by at least 6 points. . . . "The tax relief we passed is working," says Bush. "We left more money in the hands of the American people, and the American people are moving this economy forward." . . . More Bush: "I don't think the culture has changed to the extent that the American people or the Congress would totally ban abortions." . . . Deputy secretary of state **Richard Armitage** on whether Bush policy toward Iran is regime change, in congressional testimony: "No." . . . National security adviser **Condoleezza Rice**: "Until September 11, the terrorists faced no sustained, systematic, and global response.". . . After delay of nearly two months, Senate confirms Utah governor **Mike Leavitt** (R.) as head of EPA.

■ **Wesley Clark** (D.) on Baghdad terrorism, in *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*: "Maybe it's desperation. Maybe it isn't. What if it isn't? What if it's an expression of strength and resolve and conviction?" . . . "It's a temperament issue," says former Sen. **Gary Hart** (D., Colo.) of **Howard Dean**, in *New York Times*. "Part of what makes him exciting is this coiled tension. But you also get a sense that he could snap your head off if you looked at him cross-eyed." . . . Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.), on MSNBC: "I talked to [U.N. secretary general] **Kofi Annan** the Sunday before the president decided to go to war. And I knew at that moment in time that the Russians and the French were prepared to, in fact, make a further offer." . . . French U.N. ambassador **Jean-Marc de la Salière**, in *Boston Globe*: "There was no Russian-French deal." . . . **Al Sharpton** writes op-ed in *Harvard Crimson* calling for "a fundamental Constitutional right to high-quality health care and high-quality education for all Americans." . . . Sen. **Maria Cantwell** (D., Wash.) on Democratic candidates, in *The Hill*: "You've got to have a vision for America and what you want to invest in. That's why I don't think any of them have broken out."

■ Former HUD secretary **Andrew Cuomo** calls Democrats "bloodless, soulless, clueless" in *Crossroads: The Future of American Politics*, according to *New York Post*. "We handled 9/11 like it was a debate over a highway bill instead of a matter of people's lives." . . . Gov. **Bill Richardson** (D., N.M.), in *Wall Street Journal*: "The Republican has one goal for the presidential election in 2004: 40 percent of the Hispanic vote. If they get that, it's over for us." . . . House minority leader **Nancy Pelosi** (D., Calif.) on immigration arrests at Wal-Mart, in Reuters: "We think there might be a better way to go about this because the fact is that it is against the law for the employer to hire these people so there should be more focus on the employer and less in these terrorizing raids."

■ Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.) accuses Bush administration of hiding Iraq casualty figures: "We must always be vigilant against letting our desire to keep information confidential be used as a pretext for classifying information that is more about political embarrassment than national security." . . . In California, former state attorney general **Dan Lungren** (R.) announces run for seat in 3rd congressional district. . . . Rep. **Pat Toomey** (R., Penn.), now challenging Sen. **Arlen Specter** in GOP primary, in *American Spectator*: "There's a culture in Washington. The mentality is, 'Don't just stand there, spend something.'" . . . Ohio secretary of state **Kenneth Blackwell** (R.) leads voter initiative to repeal sales-tax hike imposed by Gov. **Bob Taft** (R.). . . . HHS secretary **Tommy Thompson** says he won't run against Sen. **Russ Feingold** (D., Wis.), but Harris poll shows him leading 45 percent to 44 percent. . . . Sen. **Chuck Hagel** (R., Neb.) on Iraq, on *Meet the Press*: "The Pentagon needs to do a better job than they are. They need to pay attention to this. The American people need to know about the costs here. We should have known more about the risks before we went in. That's partly the Congress's fault, in my opinion."

■ Justice **Sandra Day O'Connor**: "Over time we will rely increasingly, or take notice at least increasingly, on international and foreign courts in examining domestic issues." . . . NR editor **Rich Lowry**'s debut book, **Legacy: Paying the Price for the Clinton Years**, hits *New York Times* bestseller list. . . . Former CBS anchor **Walter Cronkite** on whether most reporters are liberal, in *Time*: "I think they're on the humane side, and that would appear to many to be on the liberal side." . . . NR's CFO **Jim Kilbridge** runs New York marathon and finishes 368th, out of more than 30,000 runners.

■ Interrogations of captured al-Qaeda leaders reveal fourth plane on 9/11 was destined for Capitol building, reports *Der Spiegel*. . . . Human Rights Watch says government in Zimbabwe limits food supply to political opponents. . . . One in four Mexicans receives money from relatives in the United States, totaling $14.5 billion this year, according to Inter-American Development Bank.

■ **David Letterman**: "Violent crime is down in New York City. In fact, the only way to get assaulted now is to marry **Liza Minnelli**." **NR**

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Manufacturing: A Crisis Alert

America is losing the capacity to manufacture the goods it consumes and the weapons it needs.

This decline is partially reflected in U.S. manufacturing employment, which dropped from 17.3 million jobs in July 2000 to 14.5 million in September 2003 - a net loss of almost 2.7 million jobs.

This weakening is also mirrored in national trade data which reveals that the U.S. will import approximately $400 billion more manufactured goods in 2003 than it exports, up from $310 billion in 2001 - an increase of 29 percent.

This deterioration pervades virtually all sectors of U.S. manufacturing, including trade in high-tech goods. In 2002 alone, the United States imported $54 billion more high-tech goods than it exported, a sector where America long dominated global trade.

In recent months, many business and political leaders have attempted to alert their fellow Americans to the rapidly deteriorating position of U.S. manufacturing.

In November 2002, the Commission on the Future of the Aerospace Industry warned that although the aerospace industry had a major economic and employment impact in all 50 states, the U.S. aerospace industrial base is being rapidly hollowed out.

In June 2003, the National Association of Manufacturers issued a report "Securing America's Future" which warned,

> *"If the U.S. manufacturing base continues to shrink at its present rate and the critical mass is lost, the manufacturing innovation process will shift to other global centers. Once that happens, a decline in U.S. living standards in the future is inevitable."*

In July 2003, the American Textile Manufacturers Institute warned that once global quotas are removed on textile trade on January 1, 2005, Chinese producers will take two-thirds of the U.S. textile and apparel market within twenty-four months, resulting in the loss of 630,000 good-paying American jobs and the closure of 1,300 factories.

In October 2003, the Semiconductor Industry Association reported that while the United States represented 33 percent of the world demand for semiconductors in 1997, it was only 22 percent by 2003, and that portion of the global demand is projected to drop to 18 percent by 2005. Of the four major global markets - the United States, Europe, Japan, and the rest of Asia -- the United States will soon be the smallest - a total reversal of position in only eight years.

Dozens of other manufacturing sectors are experiencing the same rapid decline as electronics, aerospace, and textiles. If these losses are not reversed quickly, U.S. incomes and living standards will fall correspondingly.

The accelerating decline of American manufacturing is largely the consequence of U.S.trade policies that encourage the shift of factories and jobs to other nations and pit U.S. workers against penny-wage foreign competitors, operating subsidized factories in highly protected markets.

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THE WEEK

■ Okay, now that CBS has canceled the Reagan movie, can we do something about Dan Rather?

■ America was evidently hard at work this summer, producing the fastest economic growth the country has seen in any three months since 1984. The economy grew at an annualized rate of 7.2 percent. Most economists expect job growth to resume in short order. President Bush is of course ascribing strong growth to his tax cuts. The real value (and test) of those tax cuts, however, will come in future years, as they increase the economy's long-term growth. The Democrats are flummoxed. Dick Gephardt says that the economy will still hurt Bush in 2004: "I just think the likelihood—I can't prove this in any way—is that people are going to have uncertainty, not reassurance, about where the economy is headed." He is whistling in the light. The president, already in decent shape to win re-election, has just seen his chances improve. He may not repeat Ronald Reagan's 1984 performance by winning 49 states and 59 percent of the vote. But the conditions are falling into place for an even more substantial achievement next year: a Republican realignment.

■ Democrats have a great new idea for fighting the war on terrorism—it's the same as their old idea for fighting terrorism. John Kerry and Wesley Clark have recently asserted that the war should fundamentally be a law-enforcement action. This is exactly the approach that Bill Clinton took during his eight years in office. The problem was that the FBI couldn't reach into foreign nations where terrorists had sanctuary and support, and that the rules of the American legal system provided too many constraints on law enforcement for it to grapple adequately with murderers waging war against the United States. Law enforcement couldn't have toppled the Taliban, killed a top al-Qaeda leader in Yemen, or wiped out a dangerous, radical regime in Iraq. That took the U.S. military. Democrats increasingly want to make the "war" on terrorism a misnomer.

■ Pity the poor folks at MTV and Rock the Vote. They want to get young people interested in Democratic politicians—remember how they swooned for Clinton and Gore?—but this year, it's just not working. A new poll from Harvard University's Institute of Politics shows why: The nation's college students, it turns out, like George W. Bush. The Harvard pollsters found that 61 percent of students approve of the job Bush is doing as president—a number that is substantially higher than results of general-public polls taken at the same time. "The conventional view that the majority of America's college students are Democratic and that they care little about politics is clearly disproved by this new poll," said Dan Glickman, the former Clinton agriculture secretary who heads the Institute. The pollsters also found that more students identify themselves as

ROMAN GENN

(see page 8)

Republicans than Democrats—31 percent to 27 percent. They found that 59 percent of students either strongly or somewhat support the war in Iraq. Put it all together, and it appears that one politician is truly rocking the vote this year—and he's not a Democrat.

■ In one of those flaps that mark presidential nomination battles like warts on an old pumpkin, Howard Dean drew the wrath of his fellow Dems. "I still want to be the candidate for guys with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks," Dean told the *Des Moines Register*. "We can't beat George Bush unless we appeal to a broad cross-section of Democrats." Whereupon he was hammered by John Kerry ("craven," "pandering," "unconscionable"), Joe Lieberman ("irresponsible and reckless"), John Edwards ("nothing short of offensive"). Interestingly, the vice president of the South Carolina NAACP gave a qualified defense of Dean, calling his remark "pragmatic and not offensive." Democrats have to look at the map. The Democratic ticket that Joe Lieberman ran on was the first in eons to lose West Virginia in a non-wipe-out year. They lost the state, and similar tracts of America, because of the perception that the Gore campaign spoke from, and to, the metro and suburban upper-middle

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A misconception shared by most people is that all fiber is pretty much the same. In fact, there are a great many different fibers from different sources with individual characteristics. They all come from one of three natural sources: grain, vegetable and fruit.

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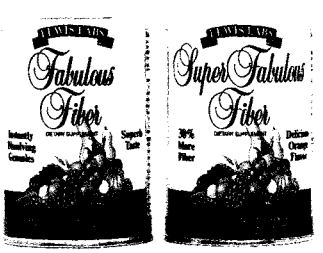

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class. Bill Clinton, who was no more a Confederate than Howard Dean, knew he must not offend voters on the basis of regional pride or class and ethnic solidarity. If Dean knows that too, maybe the GOP should be more worried by him than it is.

■ Sen. Zell Miller, Democrat of Georgia, says that when James Jeffords left the Republican party and gave the Senate to the Democrats, Republicans asked him to cross the aisle to restore their majority. Miller declined to change parties. A Democrat in public office for more than 40 years, he views his political affiliation as a "birthmark." In another act of loyalty, Miller has written *A National Party No More*, explaining why the leading lights of his ancestral party dare not show their faces south of the Mason-Dixon. Miller faults left-wing special interests for enforcing their own narrow agenda and pushing the Democratic party out of the mainstream. Miller details his disgust with Democratic meetings in the Senate that regularly put partisan interests over the national good. Miller recently endorsed President Bush for re-election over Democratic candidates he faults for wanting to raise taxes and for embracing a position on the Iraq war that he summarizes as "to cut and run with our shirttails at half-mast." Miller's remarkable book is a love letter to red-state America and a warning to the Democratic party.

■ Republican victories in governor's races in Kentucky and Mississippi underscored the Democratic party's woes in the South. President Bush campaigned for both winning Republican candidates. The Democratic candidates were too wise to invite national Democrats to campaign for them. When the Democratic candidate in Kentucky tried to make an issue of Bush's economic policies, the strategy backfired by tying him to the national Democratic party. We hope that Ernie Fletcher and Haley Barbour will bring reformist conservative governance to Kentucky and Mississippi, respectively. The political action now moves to Louisiana, where conservative wunderkind Bobby Jindal is running and the Democrats are trying out their last survival strategy in the South: Making wild claims to scare black voters into coming to the polls in force for them.

■ Congress is hard at work on a bill to get Medicare to provide prescription-drug coverage. There are many thorny issues to be worked out. How fast should the country be bankrupted? How much heavier a tax burden should young people face to pay for entitlements for the elderly? There is, however, a silver lining to the bill. To win conservative support for it, Congress may lift restrictions on medical savings accounts. These accounts would remedy the tax code's bias toward expensive health-insurance policies by making out-of-pocket health expenses deductible. People would have an incentive to buy insurance to cover catastrophic health-care costs, but pay routine medical expenses themselves. Over time, the result could be an economically rational, free-market health-care system. Ted Kennedy, suspicious as ever of anything resembling economic freedom in health care, is threatening to filibuster the bill if it includes the accounts. Republicans should call his bluff. And if the accounts go, they should filibuster the bill themselves.

■ On November 5, President Bush signed into law a ban on partial-birth abortion. President Clinton had twice vetoed similar laws. It has taken eight years for pro-lifers to get this far, but the fight is not over yet: There are already legal challenges to the ban. Whatever the outcome, however, the law is a significant victory. It marks the first time Congress and the president have moved to restrict abortion since the Supreme Court issued *Roe* v. *Wade*.

■ The Internet Tax Freedom Act prohibits state and local governments from taxing Internet access or taxing online sales more heavily than other sales. Congress is probably going to make the law permanent. But a few senators, acting at the behest of governors and mayors who would like to tax the Internet, have delayed congressional action. The coalition for Internet taxes is bipartisan: It includes Republicans George Voinovich and Lamar Alexander, and Democrats Kent Conrad and Maria Cantwell. While it is likely to lose this round, it is gearing up for a fight where it has a much better chance of prevailing. The governors want Congress to grant them new powers to tax companies that make online sales—even when those companies do not reside in their states. Corporations that compete with Internet vendors, such as Wal-Mart, are understandably lobbying for the idea. Senator Alexander argues that state taxes on the Internet are part of the glory of federalism. But federalism does not amount to allowing states to interfere with interstate commerce whenever they choose. Congress should tell the states to back off.

■ Two congressional staffers went out on their lunch hour October 30 to buy Halloween costumes. Among their purchases was a toy gun, which showed up in a security X-ray of the staffers' bags when they re-entered their office building. Security guards were late in scrutinizing the X-ray image, the staffers had already returned to their offices, and of course pandemonium broke out; the building was sealed off and shut down for two hours. A deplorable incident from all sorts of viewpoints—but good news for Rep. Edolphus Towns, a Democrat representing a district of Brooklyn, N.Y., who has been promoting legislation that will ban toy guns nationwide. Chortled Rep. Towns: "That a toy gun shut down the Hill for two hours shows this is a serious matter. This toy gun stuff is no trick-or-treat." Anti-gun hysteria has rarely looked sillier.

■ In its last issue, NR ran an editorial paragraph that it did not mean to run. We had had a debate among the editors about Gen. William Boykin, who made some highly provocative remarks about the War on Terror. Some editors felt that he should be fired forthwith; others demurred. A draft editorial paragraph was prepared, stating the position that Boykin should be sacked; at just about the last minute, we decided to withhold judgment. Because of a production error, that paragraph went to the printer. We removed it from our digital edition, but about the paper edition, we could do nothing. We regret the error. This is our considered position: It is obviously General Boykin's right to

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Future Recalls Require Further Reform

Bill Whalen is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

California is the first state in more than eighty years to recall a sitting governor. Is this landmark event a fluke or part of a larger anti-incumbent strain? Would those states without a recall mechanism be wise to follow California's lead?

The Golden State's voter rebellion fits into a national nonpartisan pattern. Democratic governor Gray Davis was recalled a month after Alabama voters rejected a $1.2 billion tax hike crafted by their Republican governor. Recall movements are afoot in Nevada and Wisconsin against both Republican and Democratic lawmakers who either raised taxes or refused to support a property-tax freeze.

At present, eighteen states have recall laws: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin. Political activists may attempt to add such provisions to more state constitutions as a means of reining in incumbents—in the same vein as the term-limit laws of a decade ago.

If recall does go national, it should reflect populist sentiment, not partisan desires. States should improve on the California model with the following reforms in mind:

More-Specific Grounds. California law says recall is appropriate as "the public good may require." Other states are more detailed. Montana limits its recall grounds to physical or mental lack of fitness, incompetence, violation of the oath of office, or failure to perform duties prescribed by law.

Quicker Process. In California, opponents have 160 days to collect recall petition signatures. Nevada allows only sixty days, which seems more sensible, as a quicker timeline makes for less of a distraction to lawmakers.

Higher Threshold. California law requires signatures from only 12 percent of the voters who cast ballots in the last gubernatorial election. Most recall states have a threshold of 25 percent (in Kansas, it's 40 percent). Given the sophistication of professional signature gatherers, a threshold higher than California's is appropriate.

Limited Ballot. California law requires a $3,500 deposit for gubernatorial replacement candidates. Not surprisingly, 135 candidates cluttered the ballot. In Nevada, replacement candidates have to collect the same number of signatures (128,000) as those required to force a recall vote. This safeguard weeds out nonserious candidates and instills public confidence in the process.

Minimize Politics. Critics said that California's recall was a partisan ploy by Republicans to reverse the results of the last election. New Jersey law avoids this by putting only the governor's name on the ballot—no replacement candidates—with the job going to the state Senate leader should the incumbent lose. One wonders what effect this would have had on California's outcome, had the only alternative to the Democratic governor been a fellow Democrat.

Despite its flaws, California's recall was a resounding success. Voter turnout increased, as did the media's interest. In this regard, the recall had a therapeutic effect on a dispirited California electorate. Other states may be as fortunate if they experiment with direct democracy—but only if they improve on what California has started.

—Bill Whalen

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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witness to his Christian faith. But it is his duty not to make public comments that make President Bush's and Secretary Rumsfeld's conduct of the war—which includes an element of public diplomacy—more difficult. General Boykin has apologized and Bush has distanced himself from his remarks. That should be enough to put the controversy to rest, and get on with fighting what is indeed a war against evil.

■ Lt. Col. Allen B. West's 4th Infantry Division faces almost daily attacks in carrying out its mission to provide security around Saddam's hometown of Tikrit. To get a captured Iraqi to tell what he knew of planned ambushes, Lt. Col. West scared him, by firing his pistol. The man talked; the attacks were prevented. The commander then reported himself for violating rules for interrogation that prohibit the threat of force and was relieved of his command, effectively ending his 19-year career. But West refuses to resign and forfeit his pension, and so faces a court martial and possible prison term. Saving his soldiers' lives shouldn't cost Lt. Col. West his career, his pension, or his liberty. West should have been sternly reprimanded for violating the rules of engagement—and then sent back to his grateful troops. The line he crossed put him firmly on their side.

■ Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida, acting under a new law written for the occasion, intervened to keep a brain-damaged woman on her feeding tube. Her husband, who is engaged to another woman and has had children with her, wants her to be dehydrated to death. He has gone to court, with the aid of the ACLU, to challenge the law that Bush applied. The media, rather grotesquely, are describing the controversy as a "right to die" case. Given the uncertainty about what the woman would have wanted—her parents insist that she would have wanted to stay alive, and that she could still have a partial recovery if given the proper treatment—the right the ACLU is asserting is closer to a right to kill. The husband's legal claim is that courts, not legislatures or governors, should decide this matter. The Supreme Court has made statements to that effect, so the husband could win. But the Constitution is silent on whether a "right to die" exists, not to mention how it should be vindicated, and judges have no special ability to make the moral judgments involved. Governor Bush did the right thing, and the courts should let his decision stand.

■ Southern California's recent wildfires, which claimed 20 lives and destroyed almost 3,000 houses, were a tragedy. What is worse, they were a needless tragedy. For years, the U.S. Forest Service, pressured by the environmental lobby, has pursued a policy of suppressing all forest fires and blocking timber harvesting. The result has been to prevent small fires that are healthy for forests and create natural firebreaks, and to ensure an ample supply of fuel for large-scale conflagrations. Not all of the California fires started in national forests, but they did start on land that suffered from the kind of mismanagement that has characterized federal policy; and, in any case, they quickly burned onto federal land, where they raged out of control. It is time for a forest management driven by clear-headed rationality, not sentimentality of the save-the-trees variety. The latter has only brought disaster—for people and trees.

■ Iran has huge reserves of oil and natural gas. Why the country might need nuclear energy isn't obvious. On the other hand, a regime that sees itself as God's agent against the rest of the world might want a nuclear bomb and the power and influence that go with it. After lots of prevarication, they admit they've been enriching and reprocessing uranium, which they need to do for the bomb. Operation Free Iraq scared the clerics. What if the U.S. Marines come across the frontier to inspect the enrichment facilities? Tehran saw a way to do some enriching and reprocessing of diplomacy. The clerics agreed with the foreign ministers of Britain, France, and Germany to stop the program temporarily, and to cooperate with the International Atomic Energy Agency over inspection of Iranian nuclear plants. The European foreign ministers duly crowed, but the clerics spoke about their right to pursue their interests as they saw fit. Vague expressions of good will aren't enough on an issue like this. The clerics may be buying time, in the belief that they have only to play the international inspection game better than clumsy old Saddam, and then they'll be able to nuke whomever they like.

■ Mikhail Khodorkovsky rose from obscurity to become chairman of Yukos, a giant Russian oil company and possible partner of Exxon-Mobil. He's the most visible of the oligarchs, or robber barons who made killings out of post-Communist privatization. What he did on the way up no doubt wouldn't satisfy the regulators, not that there are any real ones in Russia. Worse than cozying up to Westerners or lining his pockets, he's been financing parties and politicians of the center opposed to Vladimir Putin and men in the Kremlin. Parliamentary elections are due in December, and presidential elections next March, and the Kremlin has been preparing in KGB style by arresting or forcing into exile the Yukos people. Closing in at last on Khodorkovsky himself, masked secret servicemen burst into his jet at a refueling stop in Siberia, and hauled him off to jail where he stays. No habeas corpus there. Other secret servicemen were visiting Khodorkovsky's daughter's school, where they made lists of the girl's classmates. The official charge is that he or Yukos

A JOYFUL NOISE

Oh, that third quarter: It shot
Up like a rocket and got
Daschle so downhearted, he
Stares out—like Miss Liberty;
While in the White House, the staff
Smothers guffaws, though a laugh
Like a mad loon's, from Karl Rove,
Has been toned down to "By Jove."

—W. H. VON DREELE

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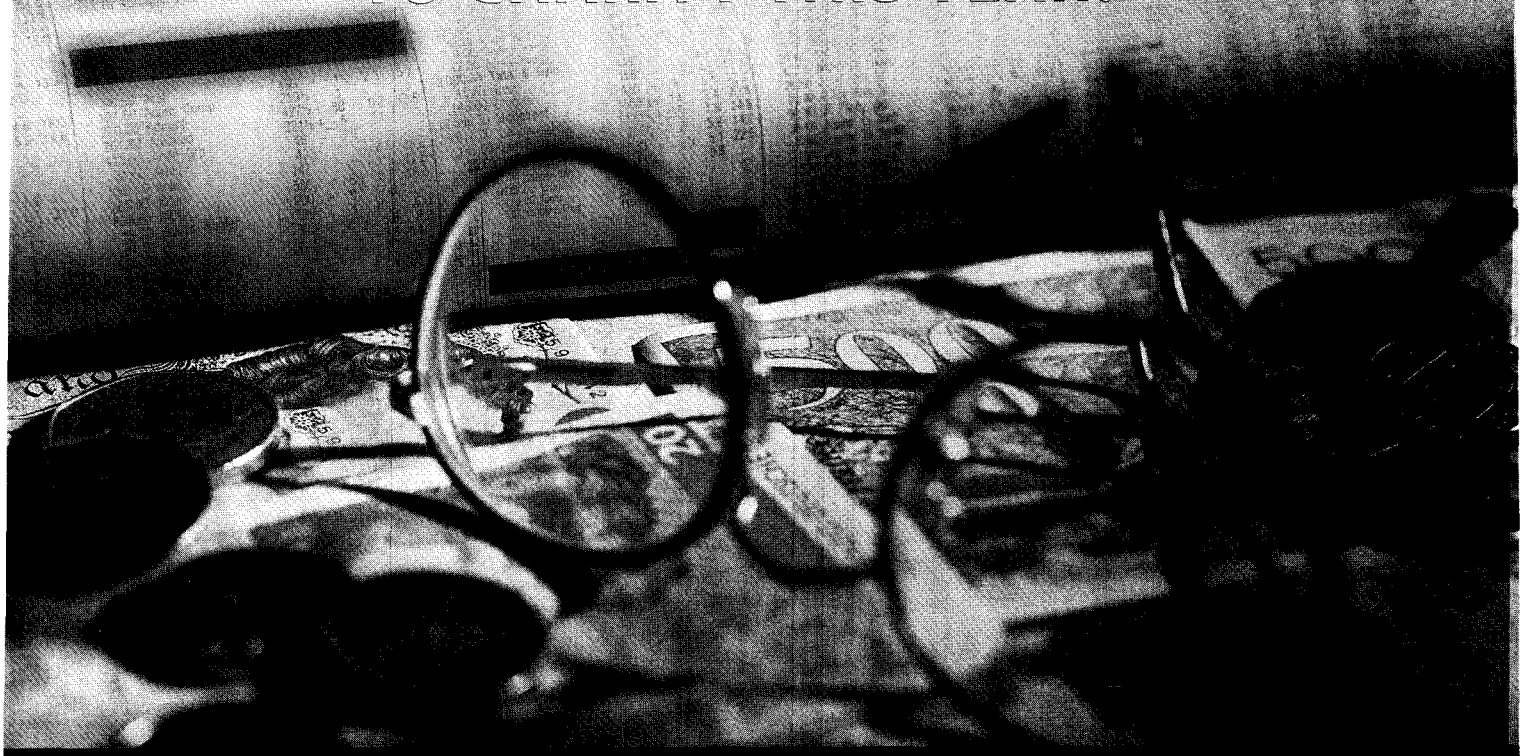

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owes a billion dollars in taxes. Yukos shares have been impounded, the ruble and the stock market rock about, Putin's chief of staff has resigned, and prime minister Mikhail Kasyanov put his career on the line by criticizing Putin. Boris Nemtsov, one of the democratic politicians Khodorkovsky is backing, says that Russia is "going from democracy to managed democracy to dictatorship." Here's another classic Russian power struggle at the top, fought over everyone else's head to an unpredictable conclusion. Ordinary people still don't count—and stay clear too.

■ The Rev. V. Gene Robinson was consecrated as Episcopal Bishop of New Hampshire. Bishop Robinson left his wife and children, and has been living with a gay partner for 14 years. Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury, channeling the voice of Dr. Proudie, said that "it will not be possible for Gene

Careful Whom You Soak

PRESIDENT BUSH'S tax cuts have been lambasted by the Left as a policy that "helps Joe Millionaire more than Joe Lunch Bucket." What they don't realize is that, without the Joe Millionaires in our society, Joe Lunch Bucket might be in the unemployment line.

Data collected by the Tax Foundation, a non-partisan research organization, indicate that, among Americans who are subject to the highest income-tax rate, two out of three are sole proprietors of businesses. President Bush's cuts have made it less expensive for them to raise capital for new plants and equipment and to hire new workers. The Left may ridicule "trickle down economics," but new research further supports what we already knew: Lower taxes on the rich help the entire economy, while higher taxes on the rich often trickle down onto the backs of the middle class and the poor.

		CHANGE IN AVERAGE TAX RATE FOR THE TOP 10 PERCENT OF EARNERS	CHANGE IN THE OTHER 90 PERCENT OF EARNERS' SHARE OF TOTAL INCOME
1963–1967	(Kennedy Cuts)	-5%	+2.9%
1972–1981	(Nixon-Ford-Carter Stagflation)	+13%	-1.2%
1981–1985	(Reagan Cuts)	-15%	+0.8%
1992–1996	(Clinton Tax Hike)	+14%	-0.2%

SOURCE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY INNOVATION

The first piece of new evidence comes from economist Charles Kadlec of J. & W. Seligman & Co., a New York investment firm. Kadlec's calculations, based on Treasury Department tax data, indicate that, after income-tax rates on the rich were raised under George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton, something very strange occurred: After-tax incomes of the rich continued to rise, but the incomes of the middle class shrank. Why did that happen?

Kadlec explains the riddle by comparing taxes to tariffs. "Income taxes are not really levied on a person any more than a tariff is levied on a company," he says. "Rather, income taxes are levied on income-producing activities. . . . Just as the foreign company that pays a tariff passes that levy on to consumers by raising the price, business owners in America faced with higher taxes will also attempt to pass on the cost to someone else—either the workers in the form of lower wages, or the consumers in the form of higher prices." That is to say, some portion of the taxes on business income and investment income that are aimed at the rich is actually borne by workers and consumers, who are typically not rich.

The empirical data fit Kadlec's theory like a surgeon's glove. In 1993, the year that Clinton's big tax hike took effect, the before-tax incomes of the top 5 percent of American earners rose by about 20 percent—almost precisely the amount needed to offset their increased tax burdens. Middle-class workers were left shouldering this burden, and their income fell.

A second piece of evidence comes from David Hartman, chairman of the Lone Star Foundation, a conservative public-policy group in Texas. In a recent study published by the Institute for Policy Innovation, Hartman looked at the relationship between tax rates on the rich and the income share of the middle class over three decades: the '70s, the '80s, and the '90s. He found that raising taxes on the rich is futile as an income-redistribution strategy. In the 1990s, as income taxes on the wealthy increased, the middle-class share of total income fell almost every year.

President George W. Bush's tax cut trimmed the top income-tax rate from 39 percent to 35 percent, and it also lowered taxes on capital gains and dividends. The 1980s are probably the closest historical parallel, even though Bush's cuts are smaller than Reagan's. In the 1980s, the rich did get richer. But every income group saw income gains, and the real incomes of the middle class rose between 10 percent and 15 percent. Even more stunning, roughly one in nine Americans who started the 1980s classified as "poor" ended the decade classified as "rich."

A well-designed tax system lets poor people get rich. But the perverse goal of many would-be income redistributors in Washington and, alas, most Democratic presidential candidates—most notably Howard Dean—is to create a tax system that makes rich people poorer. If they succeed in their soak-the-rich scheme, don't be surprised if the middle class gets wet.

—STEPHEN MOORE

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Robinson's ministry as a bishop to be accepted in every province in the communion." The archbishop may overstate the case. Robinson's consecration provoked outrage in Anglicanism's Third World provinces—which are its largest and fastest-growing ones—as well as in conservative provinces in the United States. But if past is prologue, conservative American Episcopalians will do nothing (except trickle out of the church as individuals). Perhaps the Africans, who confront poverty, AIDS, and militant Islam, will be made of sterner stuff.

■ It is not yet a crime to disapprove of homosexuality, but it sometimes seems as though that's where we are headed. Most recently, a court in Denver has forbidden a mother to tell her child that homosexuality is wrong. The mother will, in fact, be in contempt of court if she exposes her daughter to any ideas "that can be considered homophobic." Mother and daughter were formerly two of the three components of one of those wonderful new styles of "family" the sexual revolution has brought us, the third component being Mom's lesbian lover (who had, and has, no legal relationship to the child at all). Then Mom became a devout Christian, concluded that her homosexuality was sinful, and broke up the "family." Inexplicably, the court awarded joint custody to both mommies, and the ban on "homophobia" was included in the deal. In a single generation we have gone from universal disapproval of homosexuality, to tolerance, to court-mandated approval. As the old joke asks: How long before they make it compulsory?

■ CBS dumped the TV miniseries *The Reagans*, which it had commissioned, after protests from Reagan's admirers. Now the series will be aired on Showtime. In its most egregious blunder, the film showed Reagan (played by Barbra Streisand's husband, James Brolin) saying of AIDS patients, "They that live in sin, shall die in sin." The language rang false—Reagan's powerful, idiosyncratic spirituality was always keyed to the positive. So did the attitude—after decades in Hollywood Reagan knew more queers than Andrew Sullivan, and would not have dismissed them so. Evidently this line will be cut, though many disses will remain. Storytellers should have freedom to exercise their imaginations: Shakespeare is not a sober historian of the War of the Roses. But only when television tells stories across the board—when it deals creatively, and critically, with Martin Luther King Jr., Bobby Kennedy, or Nelson Mandela—will conservatives believe that there is fair play.

■ In the *New York Times*'s Sunday magazine, they interviewed Noam Chomsky, and asked him the mushiest of questions. "How would you explain your large ambition?" they said. Also: "You have remained a vocal critic of Israel"—yeah, right. "Vocal critic" like Yasser Arafat is a vocal critic. Anyway, we, had we the chance, might have asked him some rather different questions, such as, "Professor, are you sorry that the Khmer Rouge didn't kill *more* people? I mean, did they leave too many Cambodians standing?" But that wouldn't have been nice, especially for Sunday.

■ A 14-year-old middle-school student in New Jersey was suspended for five days after drawing a picture of a U.S. Marine shooting a Taliban fighter. The boy's father is a Navy engineer currently serving in the Persian Gulf. His mother said that school officials had described the drawing as "not the work of a normal mind." You know, one of those normal minds that regard the killing of America's enemies by America's troops to be . . . abnormal.

■ The trustees of the University of New Hampshire have decided that rioting merits expulsion—and have already banished several students. This is about 35 years late, but it is welcome, indeed. Civilization is being reaffirmed. If New Hampshire has acted today, will Berkeley act tomorrow? Well, maybe next week. Some have whined that expulsion is too severe. But it may actually be too mild. Some of us recall the time, at Princeton, in the 1950s, when students who plagiarized were not only expelled: Their names were removed from the rolls, as though they had never been at Princeton at all. That was muscular collegiate administration.

■ Madame Chiang Kai-shek died October 23 at the astonishing age of 105, having far outlived her fame. Older Americans remembered her as an attractive and eloquent spokeswoman for her nation, which her husband was struggling valiantly to defend against fascist invaders and Communist insurrectionists. The Japanese were of course defeated at last, but Mao Tse-tung's Communists won the subsequent civil war, and the Chiangs were forced to flee to Taiwan. Given the horrors of Mao's rule on the mainland, and the eventual democratization and economic success of Taiwan, a casual observer might be puzzled by the unflattering tone of Madame Chiang's obituaries, and by the bad press the Chiangs have received from anti-Communist historians. A close study of the period dispels most doubts. While Chiang Kai-shek's analysis of his country's peril—the Japanese were, he said, merely a disease of the skin, while the Communists were a disease of the bowels—was arguably correct, the incompetence and corruption of his regime disillusioned even the most sympathetic observers at last. Chiang forfeited the support of his own people, and would in all probability have lost U.S. support too, but for the Korean War. Taiwan's success was based on reforms he was forced to accept as the price of continued U.S. aid, reforms that, had he implemented them on the mainland, might have saved his regime and spared China the nightmare of Communist rule. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, and it is unlikely that the Chiangs were altogether bereft of sincerely patriotic motives; but it would be easier to write kindly of them if their determination to enrich themselves and their relatives had been less brazen, and their indifference to the sufferings of their poorest, lowest fellow citizens less obvious. R.I.P.

■ A delightful comment reported in the *New York Times*: Lefties held a conference in Washington on "New American Strategies for Security and Peace." According to the paper, there were American flags everywhere, as this is the new

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Democratic style. A defense contractor in attendance—apparently without irony or sarcasm—said, "It's nice to see [the] flag associated with progressive causes. And it isn't upside down"!

IRAQ

War and Post-War

The downing of the CH-47 Chinook helicopter outside the Iraqi city of Falluja and the loss of 16 soldiers aboard was the most dramatic in a string of American casualties that has continued since President Bush said that "major combat operations" had ended on May 1. More American casualties, some in dramatic attacks, others in one-shot murders, will continue for months.

War is among other things a learning experience. We learned on 9/11 that thousands of civilians could be killed in skyscrapers and on airplanes. We have learned now—if we didn't know already—that Saddam Hussein and his minions and allies do not abide by the laws of war as understood at the Battle of Saratoga or the Treaty of Paris. Post-war wars involve death and commitment, even as wars do. The losses in both must be reckoned against the strategic goals achieved, the despots who are broken, and the people who are liberated.

Among the bad ideas being put forth, not to address the Iraq situation, but to make it magically go away, is a quick hand-off of the security situation to Iraqis themselves. We want, and are training, a competent Iraqi police force. We need the cooperation, and the information, of Iraqi citizens. But they will require American military leadership and backup. An even worse idea, mooted by left Democratic presidential candidate Dennis Kucinich, is a hand-off to the U.N., which is already pulling out. In any case, Saddam and the jihadists who have flocked to his banner do not want Kofi Annan or the "international community" running Iraq any more than they want us. They want the country for themselves, as a base of operations.

The Terror War is already in its third year. It may last thirty.

Any American action that looked like an untimely pull-out would invite our enemies to come back and kill us at home. The last time a U.S. helicopter was shot down with major causalities resulting—in Somalia in 1993—President Clinton decided that nation-building, on which he had pinned such grandiose hopes, was not for him. (Rich Lowry covers the sorry episode in his new book *Legacy*.) The conclusion Osama bin Laden drew was that he could strike at American power with impunity.

We need to work harder to crack the nut of intelligence in Iraq. We need, as Amir Taheri argues (see page 18), pro-active counterterrorism—drying up the sea in which the murderers swim. We need, most importantly, to be looking outside Iraq to the Terror War as a whole. That is why Donald Rumsfeld's October 16 memo on the Terror War, which played in the press as a negative assessment duplicitously kept from the public, was instead a model for focusing the mind. "Are we capturing, killing or deterring and dissuading more terrorists every day than the madrassas and the radical clerics are recruiting, training and deploying against us? . . . How do we stop those who are financing the radical madrassa schools?"

The Terror War is already in its third year. It may last thirty. That means that, in the normal course of events, it will be conducted by Republican and Democratic administrations. Is the Democratic party up to the job? Kucinich is an outrider, but many of his fellow presidential candidates are riding not too far behind him. Gen. Wesley Clark, the man fitted by training to provide balance, says only that "we need a plan," without offering one himself. Democrats could profitably sharpen, by questioning, American tactics. So far they are raising questions mainly about their fitness to lead.

BRITAIN

A New Beginning

Ever since the defenestration of Margaret Thatcher, political correspondents have been writing about the Tory party as anthropologists might write about primitive tribes, or Gothic novelists about ancestral sins. Matricide, blood-guilt, nemesis, the Furies, betrayal, and self-destruction have been the themes. And the reality they sought to convey was that the Tories, having dispatched a leader to whom they owed more than a decade of power, had thereafter been unable to agree on their attitude toward her corpse (in fact a rather lively one), her philosophical legacy, her successors, or her standing. And that left them unable to agree on anything else—on policies toward Europe, the economy, and taxation, or on who should lead them. They elected two leaders but never gave them united backing. Loyalty—previously said to be the Tories' secret weapon—had been replaced by more or less permanent intrigue by shifting and bitchy factions. And they fell steadily in public esteem as a result.

This unhappy wandering has now come to an end with the election of Michael Howard as Tory leader and so Her Majesty's Leader of the Opposition. Almost alone Howard has been a model of loyalty amid all the betrayals. He stuck with the decent but luckless Iain Duncan Smith to the end. It is as if some mythically noble knight had arrived at a broken and disordered Camelot to restore the old virtues and verities. Which in part explains why Howard was elected by acclamation, all his potential rivals having rallied around him, and why his coronation has been greeted with widespread approval and relief even by commentators usually hostile to the Right.

One of the few advantages of the party's internecine struggles of the past decade is that most of the old internal disputes have now been settled. The Europhiles are a clear and tiny minority, and there are no longer Tories who believe, along with Tony Blair, that the problems of the welfare state can be solved by further injections of public money without radical reform. Howard represents this new orthodoxy very well. He is a Thatcherite in economic policy, a reformer in social policy, a moderate Euroskeptic in continental affairs, and a strong Atlanticist in foreign policy.

When Howard was in power, as part of John Major's Cabinet,

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he fought a hard battle with Britain's liberal legal and criminological establishment in order to impose harsher and more realistic prison and sentencing policies. Crime fell by 18 percent on his watch—an unprecedented success. But the campaign of media and judicial vilification that he endured meant that his personal reputation was badly damaged even among Tories. That was why he came fifth in a field of five when he first ran for the Tory leadership in 1997. Two subsequent events have vindicated him. First, crime has since resumed its former rise; second, his Labour successors have been compelled to adopt his detested policies through gritted teeth. Perhaps some of the favorable press coverage that Howard has recently received can be put down to the guilt feelings of some previous tormentors.

To this record one can add that Howard is a brilliant debater, a first-class lawyer, a tough minister who rode his civil servants hard, and a very decent guy. He will need all the luck that Heaven sends if he is to win the next election against a strongly entrenched if increasingly distrusted government. Howard makes little of the fact that he is also the first Jewish leader of the Tory party since Disraeli. As the Welsh son of Romanian immigrants fleeing from fascism, however, he has enjoyed a rise at least as dramatic—and perhaps even more providential.

notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Both James L. Fletcher Jr. and yourself extol the virtues of Elvis Presley (July 28). Having lived through the era of the '40s to the '60s, and having been in the entertainment business, I would like to interject the following.

Elvis Presley was not a "singer" in the sense of great popular vocalists of that time. He was an extraordinary "entertainer." He wasn't a Frank Sinatra or a Mel Torme or a Perry Como who just stood up at the mike and sang, putting everything into his voice and words.

Take away Elvis's movements and gyrations and you don't have a great vocalist. Original, outstanding presentation? Absolutely! But calling him a great vocalist is not correct.

Cordially,
H. K. "Bud" Miller
Weed, Calif.

Dear Mr. Miller: How can what you say be true when so many people (including your servant) listen to records of Elvis without any knowledge of what his hips are doing as we rejoice over his voice?

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I find myself disagreeing with your correspondents who are arguing against the use of foreign words in writing. This is a discussion that I believe could never take place in Europe. There it is *de rigueur* to understand at least a few words of your neighbors' languages. I would draw the line at using long sentences and phrases gratuitously, but a foreign word or expression often hits the nail on the head.

There is no word in English for *Gemütlichkeit*. "Coziness" does not capture the meta-message of that word. Besides, "cozy" can be used in a derogative sense, as in "the cozy brotherhood of thieves." Conversely, German has no word for "frustration." It has been adopted as *Frust*. The German equivalent of "son of a female dog" somehow doesn't do it compared with its English original. And in *Gone with the Wind*, Germans have to be satisfied with "It's all the same to me" instead of "Frankly, my dear . . ."

That is definitely anti-climactic, don't you think?

With best wishes,
Horst Brakel
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Brakel: I do indeed, and thanks for your vote.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I've been drooling over the particulars of the Panama Canal cruise featured in NR.

All was well until I encountered that all-too-common misspelling of the word "barbecue."

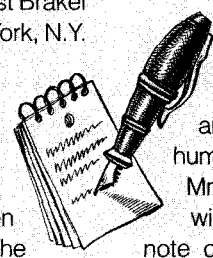
Please, there is no *q* in barbecue!

Truly yours,
Nelson H. Gaunt
Roswell, Ga.

Dear Mr. Gaunt: You're right, there is no *q* in barbecue. But there is a *q* in barbeque, and both are in the dictionary.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: My father, Dr. Bill G. Church, has been a subscriber to NR for close to 40 years. He doesn't remember exactly, but he thinks he signed on in '64 or '65. He is a man of deeply held principles, a true conservative. He really admires you, your magazine, your intellect, and, particularly, your conservatism. He has read most, if not all, of your books. He is a father of eight children and he and Mom have been married for 57 years. Dad will turn 80 years old on November 8, 2003. To mark this momentous occasion my siblings and I would like to honor Dad by purchasing a lifetime subscription to National Review for him. We all agree that this gesture would be a gift Dad would truly cherish above all others. He's reached that stage in life where he doesn't really need any more "things," so why not pick up the tab for his favorite magazine?



We are gathering over Labor Day this year to celebrate the life of this particular octogenarian. So, on behalf of my siblings I humbly request two things of you, Mr. Buckley. First, would you be willing to write my father a short note of congratulations and confirmation of his "lifetime subscription"? Second, and I know this is a huge request, would you be willing to mention his birthday in the appropriate issue of NR? It would be icing on the cake and a great way to thank a longtime subscriber.

Cordially,
Todd Church
Spearfish, S.D.

—WFB

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■ COVER STORY ■

What to Do

The problem in Iraq is neither political nor military; it is a security problem

AMIR TAHERI

In late October and early November, the Iraqi capital of Baghdad had some horrible days, with terrorist attacks that claimed scores of victims. The attacks put the usual what-is-to-be-done industry into overdrive in Washington and elsewhere. There has been no dearth of ideas, some outrageous, others amusing. One is to impose a 24-hour curfew in Baghdad. Another is to abandon democratization, and appoint a military junta to restore calm. (The calm, that is to say, of the graveyard.) We are told to court tribal sheikhs, to cuddle the mullahs, or to crown this or that aspiring despot as "strongman." The avalanche of ideas includes other gems: get a new U.N. resolution, put Kofi Annan in charge, call Jacques Chirac to the rescue, and even beg the mullahs of Tehran for help.

Mr. Taheri is an Iranian journalist and author of ten books on the Middle East and Islam. His most recent book, *L'Irak: le dessous des cartes*, was published last year by Editions Complexe.

The best short answer to the question, however, is to do nothing. Doing nothing is often better than knee-jerk reactions and panic measures. A longer answer, however, will have to start by establishing what it is that we face in Baghdad today. To present the attacks as "the Iraq problem" falsifies the issue. Iraq does remain a problem, not only for the U.S.-led coalition but also for the Persian Gulf, and, beyond it, the whole world. But to reduce that problem to the terrorism that we have witnessed since May would be to miss the point.

The terrorist attacks—in localities that account for perhaps just over 1 percent of Iraqi territory—do need to be dealt with, but they cannot be dealt with unless we understand their nature. First of all, they are not political. Their instigators have not presented any political demands, nor have they presented their terrorism in the context of any political analysis. The choice of targets, too, shows that there is no coherent political strategy behind the attacks. (To be sure, pundits speculate about such motives. We are told, for example, that the attacks come from Iraqis who wish to drive the Americans out. In that case, one wonders why the terrorists attacked Muslim embassies, the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, hospitals, universities, and other points of concentrations of Iraqi civilians.) No, the agenda behind these acts is not political, and thus cannot be dealt with through political means such as changing policies, establishing dialogue, seeking compromises, and altering alliances.

Nor can the attacks be understood in military terms. One idea, from those who see the attacks as a military problem, is to flood Iraq with boots, to the tune of half a million or more. Another is to withdraw the GIs into cordoned-off bases, and let the Iraqis settle it among themselves. Yet another is to bring in the Turkish and Jordanian armies because they supposedly know how to deal with "the natives." The truth, however, is that these attacks do not represent a military threat to the coalition. The instigators are not trying to capture territory or deny territory to the coalition. Nor are they seeking to destroy the coalition's major assets or gain control of vital resources, such as water, or even to disrupt the logistics of the "enemy."

As things stand today, then, the U.S.-led coalition faces neither a political nor a military challenge in Iraq. Politically, the coalition enjoys support from a majority of Iraqis on two points: 1) making sure that the fallen regime does not return in any form and 2) preventing a single ethnic and/or religious group from winning an exclusive hold on power in any future regime. (This support, however, could be lost if a growing number of Iraqis sensed that, for domestic political reasons, the U.S. might not want to stay the course.)

Nor does the coalition face a military challenge in Iraq in the foreseeable future. (Gen. John Abizaid overstated the case when he suggested that Iraq was witnessing a guerrilla war.) The suggestion that, in military terms, Iraq could become "another Vietnam" comes from those who know neither.

This terrorism is, in fact, a security problem, which must be combated with policing methods. The coalition and the Iraqi Governing Council have had a measure of success in dealing with the wave of ordinary crimes that hit Baghdad in the

EPA/STEFAN ZAKLIN U.S. SOLDIERS VIEW SITE OF DOWNED HELICOPTER IN TIKRIT, 10/25/03

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immediate aftermath of liberation. That success has been achieved through the organization of Iraqi police units and the establishment of neighborhood-watch networks that supply the information needed for prevention and detection of crime.

That method has not been used against terrorism. For reasons that are hard to fathom, the U.S.-led administration has excluded the Governing Council and the newly created Iraqi police force from the task of combating terrorism. As for the Governing Council, some of its members claim that terrorism is "part of the war," and thus "a preserve of the Americans." Again for reasons hard to explain, the coalition has refused to build up an adequate counterterrorism capacity. It was not until early in October that Washington assigned a couple of counterterrorism experts to the reconstituted Iraqi Ministry of Defense. Of the 56 specialist detectives promised for a new division to deal with terrorism, only two have been assigned.

At the same time, the interim administration, perhaps anxious to do the best thing for the longer term, is trying to introduce technologies and equipment that few Iraqis understand and can handle. Creating a genetic database for criminal investigations, for example, may be useful in the long run. But right now you need people who know which tribes to infiltrate, which teahouses to frequent, and which moneychangers to keep an eye on. The newly created police computer center in Baghdad looks like a Hollywood set. But very little of immediate use goes in, and less comes out.

On the ground, there is no organized effort to search out and destroy the terrorists. Whatever raids the coalition forces carry out and whatever arrests they make are prompted by information volunteered by Iraqis who share the dream of a new Iraq. This is a reactive, rather than proactive, way of fighting terror. The terrorists in Iraq have an easy time because no systematic watch is kept on them, no one is hunting them, and no one disrupts their cash flow. The American force that faces them, though large and well equipped, is unsuited to the task of infiltrating and destroying clandestine cells.

When Saddam Hussein went into hiding just before April 9, he made sure that his henchmen had emptied the contents of the Central Bank. By most accounts they took something like $1 billion. Of that, half was recovered by the coalition, including $400 million in a cache close to the Tigris River in Baghdad. Saddam has therefore almost half a billion dollars to play with—that is to say, to spend on his terror network, possibly with the help of professional criminals and remnants of foreign terrorist groups that he had sheltered and financed for decades. Half a billion dollars is a lot of money, especially in cash-starved Iraq, and could buy quite a few volunteers for terrorism. And as long as there is no efficient policing action, the terrorists will see no reason why they should stop.

Nevertheless, this terror campaign lacks staying power. Saddam's money is bound to run out, sooner rather than later. Because he is not using terror in the context of a popular political program, his field of recruitment is bound to remain limited to diehard Ba'athists, mercenaries, and foreign militants thirsting to kill Americans wherever possible. There are no signs that the terror network has prepared for using the fundraising methods of classical terrorist organizations, such as robbing more banks, setting up rackets, and running extortion networks. Saddam has always been a reckless tactician and a cowardly strategist: He always started with as much violence as he could muster, but ended up looking for a hole in which to hide. In previous cases, such as the war he launched against Iran and his invasion of Kuwait, he got off the hook thanks to either the Western powers that supported him or the United Nations that offered him a way out.

This time he is unlikely to get a break. Sooner or later, the coalition will create and deploy a counterterrorism force constituted mainly of Iraqis. With this endeavor, some of Washington's allies, notably the British, can help. Rather than clean up after every terrorist attack, the new force would go on the offensive against an adversary that is politically isolated and militarily doomed. The liberation of Iraq was and remains a success; no explosion in Baghdad should make us forget that. Iraq could become a problem only in Washington—if short-term domestic political considerations override the broader goal of winning the war against global terrorism. **NR**

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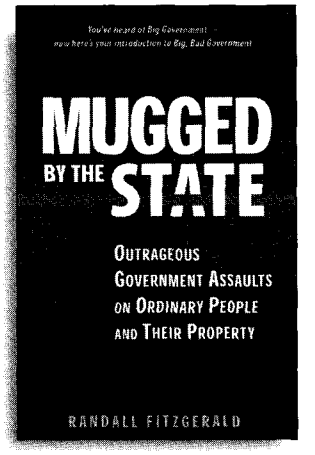

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◆

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■ COVER STORY II

A War of Cultures

Shame and honor, as always

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

Most Iraqis recognize that they owe a debt to the United States. They have never been so free and prosperous, and they expect things will get better still. There's been banking and currency reform, with lines of credit now readily available. Markets are thriving, property values are rising. Welcome novelties include free speech and almost 200 periodicals; Internet cafés, bloggers, and cellphones are everywhere. About 90,000 Iraqis are policemen or soldiers, a number growing all the time. In spite of provocations and opportunities, communal violence has not occurred, even when an Iraqi politician or a prominent ayatollah was murdered. The Iraqi Provisional Government is gradually acquiring power and capabilities, and one day in the not so distant future will become independent.

This pretty solid performance of peacekeeping and nation-building is called into question by hit-and-run attacks now numbering around 30 a day. As we see, a shoulder-fired missile is enough to bring down a helicopter over the village of Hasai, killing 16 soldiers and wounding another 20. Other attacks have hurt people or institutions whose work normalizes the situation, including Iraqi police posts, the United Nations, and the Red Cross.

Saddam Hussein has gone to ground but those committing these violent acts are still loyal to him. All of them have been dispossessed. Their only hope of recovering the absolute power and privilege they lately enjoyed lies in engineering a chaos so ugly that American public opinion comes to insist on stopping Operation Free Iraq and withdrawing the troops. They have to wage a war of cultures, and fast. Why should they care about the human costs to the majority of Iraqis who are doing all right, so long as they can rush afterwards into the political vacuum? Death and destruction also comes cheap. The going rate for an attack is said to be a thousand dollars. With his looted millions, Saddam can finance that for who knows how long? One of the recent car bombs in Baghdad also happened to wreck the private clinic of a doctor by the name of Jalal Massa. The U.S. occupation, Dr. Massa said, "has not been a success." Such a condemnation clarifies the unfolding political struggle. The whole trick of it is somehow to shift the blame for these outrages away from the Iraqi perpetrators on to the American defenders.

The war of cultures has only a slight Islamic dimension. With its Sunni minority and Shia majority, Islam in Iraq does not offer a monolithic identity. Saddam was always willing to play the Muslim card, inscribing "God is the greatest" on the Iraqi flag, and habitually drawing parallels between the great days of the Prophet Muhammad and his own one-man rule. At the start of Ramadan, coordinated car-bomb attacks killed three dozen people and injured another 200. Some Islamists welcomed this, for instance Yasser al-Sirri, who said, "Ramadan is a blessed time when good deeds are rewarded tenfold. If you are martyred in Ramadan, that's even better." He further explained that the fasting imposed by this holy month and jihad "go hand in hand." But al-Sirri is actually an Egyptian terrorist wanted for murder in his own country, and living in Britain where laws designed for other people at other times protect him. International jihadists of his type are reported to be in Iraq, but nobody seems to know what influence they have.

Nationalism was another uncertain vehicle for Saddam. Like everyone who has ever ruled Iraq, he did not attempt to weld a nation-state out of the country's disparate ethnic and religious elements. Instead he used the Baath party to run a party-state on the Nazi and Soviet model. This party-state was a criminal enterprise for Saddam and his fellow Sunnis and anyone else willing to lay aside all moral principles for the sake of a career. Nonetheless some sort of nationalism exists. Listen to one of the Hasai villagers after the helicopter was shot down there: "We are cheering because every American soldier we kill brings us one step closer to getting them out of the country for good." Another villager said that they would all be having two feasts, one to break the Ramadan fast and another "in praise of those who struck down our American enemies."

The al-Hakim family consists of Shia notables, and one of them describes the Americans as "a foreign army from a foreign country occupying our land . . . They have a completely different language and society and standards from ours."

True enough. There are about 130,000 Americans in Iraq, with supporting contingents from 30 countries. Of necessity, these soldiers lead separate lives, flying overhead and patrolling in armored columns, or sheltered behind concrete barriers and wire. Very few of them speak Arabic, or have any familiarity with the culture of the other side. Addressing Iraqi men, and particularly women, as they would anyone else, they fail to realize that their demeanor—the mere appearance of superiority—is often enough to offend the society and its standards, involuntarily stoking up the war of cultures. The best hope of Saddam loyalists and other jihadists is to arouse resistance through the time-honored appeal to safeguard personal honor, with the dimension of Islam wrapped into it for extra strength, if possible.

Americans in Iraq fail to realize that their demeanor is often enough to offend the society and its standards.

Since the days of Homer and the Bible, the prime value conditioning the culture of people all round the Mediterranean has been the pursuit of honor, and its converse, the avoidance of shame. Carried out to the full, the pursuit of honor clashes with pragmatism and self-interest. Islamists think themselves dishonored by Christians or infidels; nationalists think themselves

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author of, among other books, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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dishonored by imperialists or Westerners. It's a matter of words and definitions; the desired recognition of a dignified status is common to all. In his speeches Saddam was a master of the rhetoric of honor, for instance telling Dan Rather in a pre-war interview that rang round the world, "We will maintain our honor, the honor that is required in front of our people." Honor could incorporate religion and sound like a curse as well, for instance when he said, "May the infidels, the enemies of God and humanity, be shamed."

Israel and the Palestinian Authority are engaged in a comparable war of cultures. Since the 1967 war brought the West Bank and Gaza under its control, Israel has, in reality, given the Palestinians employment and rising standards of living, health, and education. But a small number of Palestinian terrorists, mostly nationalist but some Islamist, have negated these improvements through carefully targeted acts of violence. The injury they have done to their own people is self-evident. What has nonetheless brought local public opinion quite widely to support them is the humiliation Palestinians come to feel at many of the precautions Israel takes in self-defense. Helicopters firing a missile in retaliation for a suicide bomb are understandable. But Palestinians continually complain that checkpoints for civilian traffic, the vagaries of obtaining licenses and permits, curfews and searches, are so many exercises of arbitrary power designed to expose their helplessness. Perceptions of shame and impotence fuel attacks, as they are now doing in Iraq.

Iraqi violence might well stop on news of Saddam's capture or death. Violence could also backfire, in the event that blame falls on those who commit it rather than on those who suffer from it. Most Iraqis understand that the United States stands between them and anarchy. American failure carries with it the risk of a far wider civil war of Sunni and Shia, and Arab and Kurd, with who knows what involvements or incursions from the neighbors. The way to reconcile honor and self-interest in this case is to bring forward the day—as speedily as possible—when Iraqis have a government that is freely chosen and representative. That would also mark victory in the war of cultures. Iraq would have joined the modern world. **NR**

■ **COVER STORY III**

The Malay Precedent

Lessons from the Brits

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

How the Iraq crisis is resolved will be decided in two countries: Iraq and America. If the U.S. defeats the insurgency quickly and thoroughly, American voices demanding withdrawal will fade away. If on the other hand the conflict drags on in apparent confusion and futility, there will be growing domestic pressure for withdrawal. And if, furthermore, the American people are asked to make heavier sacrifices for Iraq—higher taxes, more reservists sent to the front, perhaps even the return of the draft—the political convulsion could resemble Vietnam.

Until recently there have been two opposite tendencies in Iraq: economic and social improvements, and the deterioration of the security situation. It was, at first, a reasonable assumption that the first trend would eventually correct the second. But the decline in law and order, though localized, seems to be accelerating. Should this continue, it will eventually abort economic recovery and political stability. People will not save, invest, and establish businesses, let alone cooperate with the occupying power, in conditions of growing anarchy.

What the future apparently holds, as everyone now accepts, is a long hard slog. But a great deal will depend on whether the U.S. begins to win that slog soon and visibly. What are the prospects of this? What examples are there of a successful anti-guerrilla campaign? Every columnist has his favorite analogy—Vietnam, Bosnia, the Philippines, and so on. No two conflicts are exactly alike, but we can learn from both the similarities and the differences.

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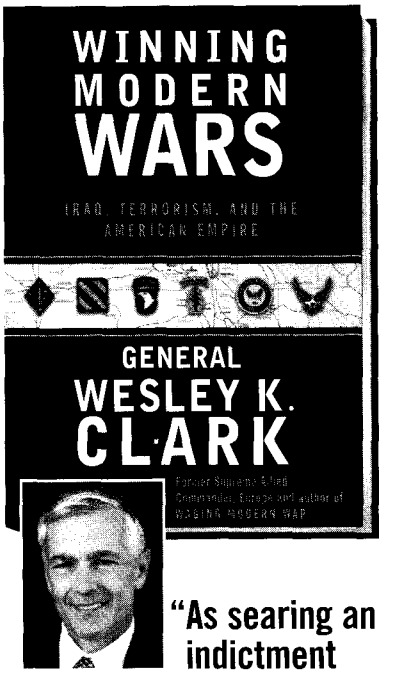

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One of the most successful anti-guerrilla campaigns was that waged by the British against the (mainly Chinese) Communist insurgents in Malaya between 1946 and 1958. It makes a particularly useful comparison with Iraq because, though the British eventually won, they started badly. For the first three years the Communists gained; it was only when the Brits remembered the jungle fighting techniques they had successfully employed against the Japanese in Burma that they recovered the initiative. Let us first examine the differences between the Malayan "emergency" and the Iraq liberation:

One: Borders. An important factor assisting the British was that the Communists had no safe haven across the Thai or Burmese borders to which they could retreat under pressure. Iraq has famously porous borders with nations that have been known to assist terrorism, including Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. Islamist terrorists undoubtedly infiltrate Iraq across these borders. This disadvantage may be somewhat counterbalanced by sophisticated aerial reconnaissance of Iraq's largely sparse desert terrain, but it remains a disadvantage.

Two: Strategic hamlets. Once they reformed their tactics, the British forces separated the insurgent "fish" from the "sea" of peasants by relocating Chinese and Malay villagers into new protected hamlets defended against the guerrillas. That cut off their enemies from food, shelter, and intelligence. Forced back into the jungle, the Communists now found themselves the hunted ones, pursued by small anti-guerrilla units, skilled in tracking, camouflage, and close-hand fighting, including the feared Gurkhas. In Iraq the Saddamite and Islamist fish swim in an urban sea consisting of cities like Baghdad, Tikrit, and Fallujah; it is simply not practicable to move the residents from these areas, nor therefore to separate the fish from the sea. But see the point on intelligence below.

Three: *Forces Favorites* versus the CNN Effect. In Malaya the British had no need to worry that any accidental civilian deaths, inseparable from war, would become a major news event and political embarrassment. Quite the contrary, the main media influence was that of the weekly radio program *Forces Favorites*, broadcast to British forces all over the world, in which listeners sent in song requests like the following: "And now for Lance Corporal Brian Jones, serving with the Sappers in Malaya, from his sweetheart Beryl in Stockport, with all her love, their favorite song." This was commonly Anne Shelton singing "Lay down your arms and surrender to mine." But it had no pacifist overtones whatsoever. Indeed, the media in general preached support for the troops. By contrast CNN and the international news media today are alert for stories of military error and American unpopularity.

The big picture is that, behind the headlines on security, the U.S. soldier is gradually making life better for ordinary Iraqis.

Four: Imperial fortitude. British domestic opinion took small wars and imperial sacrifice in stride. Americans are more questioning, and more willing to resort to the clear-cut choice of quick victory or withdrawal. This places greater pressure on policymakers to get fast results. But see below for possible substitute fortitudes.

Taken together, these differences suggest that Iraq might be a tougher nut to crack than Malaya. Let us now look, however, at the similarities:

One: Social divisions. The British generally benefited from the fact that the Communist insurgency was almost entirely a Chinese one in a country with a large Malay majority. By forging an alliance with the Malay community—in particular, by promising to grant independence when the emergency was over—the British ensured that they had local allies and good intelligence. Iraq is similarly divided, on both ethnic and religious lines. Thus far the U.S. has managed to keep the Shiites and the Kurds largely on its side. That keeps two large areas of the country fairly stable, and allows the U.S. to concentrate its counterinsurgency efforts on the "Sunni triangle."

Two: "Hearts and minds." This phrase actually dates from the Malayan campaign, and not from Vietnam (as Americans often assume). In order to win Malay and Chinese hearts and minds, those Brits not hunting guerrillas in the jungle were helping villagers to build huts, improve irrigation, and set up defenses against attack. This undercut the "social justice" arguments of the Communists just as the promise of independence undercut their political claims. U.S. soldiers already perform exactly the same tasks in Iraq. Naturally, they enjoy varying success from district to district. We need a "best practice" approach, with military units learning from one another. But the big picture is that, behind the headlines on security, the U.S. soldier is gradually making life better for ordinary Iraqis. That will not compensate for any security failures, but it will ensure that if security improves, Iraqis are more likely to be well disposed to Americans and to cooperate with the U.S. and its local allies.

Three: Leadership. In Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer, whom the government sent out to take control in Malaya, the British had one of their most formidable soldier-diplomats. (He was not invariably diplomatic, however, once telling Mountbatten, "Louis, you're so crooked that if you swallowed a nail, you'd sh** a screw.") Others had laid much of the military and political groundwork for the British recovery in Malaya, but Templer built on this and quickly established his authority everywhere. After a short time almost everyone outside the Communist forces believed that the government was certain to win. Malaya got its independence in 1957, but the defeat of the insurgency was run by the British to the end. Malay politicians were willing to accept this because they trusted and respected Templer, and because they wanted to see the Communists well and truly beaten for the sake of future stability. In Iraq, similarly, the war will be won, or lost, by Americans. Putting an Iraqi face on the counterinsurgency may well be good politics, but the substance of authority must remain in the hands of the U.S.

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Four: Intelligence. All the experts agree that in counterinsurgency operations, body counts are meaningless and good intelligence is the key to ultimate success. In Malaya the Communists initially enjoyed better intelligence than the authorities, from frightened and/or sympathetic villagers. Once the villagers were separated out in protected villages, however, the balance of advantage switched sides and the British began to get the better information. In Iraq we are at an earlier stage of this process. The Saddamite-Islamist coalition seems to have more agents in sensitive posts than the U.S. and its allies have in *their* conspiracy. What is now needed is clever exploitation of the divisions within Sunni Iraq. Most Sunni Moslems were not Baathists but victims of Saddam Hussein. We ought to be able to exploit that fact to get better intelligence. But this is a long job, and it will require the commitment of a large U.S. force for a long time.

All of which confirms that we face, indeed, a long hard slog. If, moreover, the U.S. needs to commit more resources to Iraq at a time of multiplying crises in Iran, North Korea, and elsewhere, two conclusions follow. First, the U.S. needs allies, because global unilateralism is an impractical fantasy. Second, the American people need a kind of non-imperial fortitude to sustain them through the inevitable setbacks. And because America is where the battle for Iraq will be won or lost, fostering such a fortitude is perhaps the central task of statecraft. Two American qualities might, together, have provided such a fortitude towards Iraq: the traditional American determination to avenge attacks upon the U.S., and the strong national patriotism of ordinary Americans. But the administration has not succeeded in demonstrating that the war in Iraq is part and parcel of the War on Terror. And though September 11 made patriotism almost universal again, after years of multicultural dilution, the Bush administration took no steps to give this emotion political clarity and intellectual content, and therefore permanence. Unless the Iraqi security situation improves soon, these may be failures the administration comes bitterly to regret. **NR**

■ **POLITICS**

The War Room, Cont.

This time, the Democrats are calling it a 'think tank'

BYRON YORK

Al Franken was becoming agitated. The comedian and conservative-basher was at a Washington party for the new liberal think tank, the Center for American Progress, when he was asked to say a few words to the crowd. As he often does, Franken began riffing on the subject of the Fox News Channel, and in no time at all had worked himself into a fit of anger.

"Basically, what there is, is there's a right-wing media in this country," Franken told the group. He recounted the story of Fox's lawsuit against him—"a f***ing complaint against me, thank you very F***ING much," he said, as the audience roared with laughter—and then moved on to the network's coverage of the war in Iraq, which he said showed "how shameless, how shameless, how SHAMELESS these people on the right can be."

The crowd, made up mostly of left-leaning activist, political, and media types, loved it. "We have to fight back," Franken exhorted them. Looking at John Podesta, the former Clinton White House chief of staff who is heading the new think tank, Franken said, "Thank God you're doing this. We have to fight back."

Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton, standing nearby with former Clinton national security adviser Sandy Berger, applauded and nodded her head in approval. Earlier, she too had lamented the "great void of positive energy" on the left and urged the crowd to fight back in the "idea game and war that we're engaged in with the other side."

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of the Center for American Progress. Supporters of the project seem to sincerely believe that they are up against a pervasive conservative bias in the nation's media that can only be answered by an aggressive public-relations counter-offensive, which they call "pushback." And although it bills itself as a traditional think tank—scholarship and all—for now, at least, the Center appears to be all about pushback.

At the opening-night party, Podesta premiered a new movie by Hollywood filmmaker Robert Greenwald, a founder of Artists United to Win Without War. The picture, *Uncovered: The Whole Truth About the Iraq War*, was funded by the Center and the left-wing Internet activist group MoveOn.org. It features high-profile critics of the Bush administration, like former ambassador Joseph Wilson, former weapons inspector Scott Ritter, and former Nixon White House counsel John Dean, accusing the administration of lying about weapons of mass destruction.

A week earlier, the Center made another splash when it held a well-publicized conference on U.S. foreign policy that featured speeches from Mrs. Clinton, Democratic presidential candidate Wesley Clark, and sometime maverick Republican senator Chuck Hagel. Clinton and Clark, of course, denounced Bush policy, while Hagel greatly pleased the crowd by mocking conservatives who had criticized his decision to speak before the liberal group; he told the audience that his fellow Republicans worried that the "dreaded John Podesta, that tricky, wily fellow that he is, had hoodwinked the flat-footed senator from Nebraska into speaking before you Communists."

But perhaps the biggest buzz coming from the new Center for American Progress has nothing to do with a party, a conference, or a movie premiere. Recently the Center began sending out a daily e-mail commentary on events known as "Progress Report." An exhaustive collection of news bits wrapped in stridently anti-Bush rhetoric, the report, which Podesta calls "one of our flagship products," resembles nothing so much as a collection of the most aggressive, most energetic opposition research in politics.

Some examples: On October 31, after the government announced that the U.S. economy had grown by an impressive 7.2 percent in the third quarter of this year, "Progress Report" provided talking points for Democrats unwilling to concede that the economy seems to be improving. Headlines included "The Jobs Problem," "The Wage Problem," "The Tax Cut Problem," "The Long Term Problem," "The Competitiveness Problem," and ended with "The Credibility Problem," accusing the president of misleading the nation about the economy.

That day's report also featured "Condi's Believe It or Not," which was a set of talking points to counter national security adviser Condoleezza Rice's criticism of previous administrations' responses to terrorism. The report accused the Bush White House of cutting counter-terrorism programs prior to September 11, ignoring pre-9/11 intelligence, and underfunding homeland security.

'Progress Report' differs little from the material that comes out of the Democratic National Committee on any given day (although it is more polished and professional).

It almost goes without saying that the Center has been regularly blasting the White House over the CIA leak investigation. "Progress Report" calls the matter "Intimigate," the name given it by David Sirota, the former staffer for Vermont socialist representative Bernie Sanders and Wisconsin Democratic representative David Obey who writes each day's report. In one instance, Center staffers studied columns by Robert Novak going back to the 1970s, looking for clues to who might have leaked information in the Niger/uranium controversy. Without finding any answers, the Center suggested it was most likely a neoconservative.

In all, "Progress Report" differs little from the material that comes out of the Democratic National Committee on any given day (although it is more polished and professional). Perhaps the most striking thing about that is that the Center bills itself as a "nonpartisan research and educational institute." Podesta recently told reporters that "we're not operating on behalf of any party. We're not engaged in political activities."

Podesta was undoubtedly speaking in a legal sense. The Center for American Progress is a so-called 501(c)(3) charitable organization and, as such, is allowed to accept tax-deductible contributions but forbidden from engaging in overtly partisan activity. It cannot, for example, advocate passage of a particular bill or the election of a particular candidate.

But by any common-sense standard, Podesta's group is as partisan as they come. "I'm not sure they are so much a think tank as a spin tank," says Michael Franc of the Heritage Foundation, the conservative organization that is sometimes cited as a model for the Center. Even a Democratic ally of Podesta's recently called the Center "a think tank with oppo research." "The initial buzz about the Podesta group was that it would be basically high-level talking points," the Democrat says. Despite Podesta's claims otherwise, that's what it seems to be.

The Center's funding also suggests its deeply political orientation. One of the organization's top donors is the financier George Soros, who this year has devoted his enormous financial resources to defeating George W. Bush in 2004. So far, Soros has contributed $10 million to the new anti-Bush group America Coming Together, which will coordinate voter turnout efforts in key states. [Ed.: See Mr. York's article "By George" in our last issue.] The Center appears to be another part of Soros's campaign.

Although Podesta maintains that Soros's support for the Center is "a kind of separate matter, a separate enterprise" from the billionaire's support of anti-Bush political groups, he does concede that Soros is highly focused on changing administrations. "I think he [Soros] saw a drift in the country in a radical direction," Podesta explains,

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"especially in international affairs, but also in domestic affairs, and I think it troubled him."

Podesta says the Center's other major funders include Herb and Marion Sandler, who are co-CEOs of Golden West Financial Corporation, a savings and loan based in Oakland, Calif. Podesta says the Sandlers, who are prominent contributors to Democratic causes, "have a commitment to changing the debate in this country." Other than the Sandlers and Soros, Podesta will not name any other funders of the Center. All he will say is that "we will provide the information that is required by law."

The support of the Democratic party's most anti-Bush donors, combined with all the emphasis on war-rooming and talking points, tends to obscure the idea that the Center for American Progress is supposed to be a think tank. Indeed, it's hard to avoid the conclusion that thinking, at least the hard kind of thinking that goes on in scholarly research, just isn't on the Center's agenda.

Podesta seems to see himself less as a facilitator of scholarship than as a salesman for the liberal point of view. As such, he's looking for the perfect pitch. He likes to tell audiences that conservatives have simple ideas, which are easy to communicate, while liberals have complex, nuanced ideas, which are difficult to communicate. In October, he told the *New York Times* that "conservatives have their eight words in a bumper sticker: 'Less government. Lower taxes. Less welfare.' And so on. Where's our eight-word bumper sticker? Well, it's harder for us because we believe in a lot more things."

The emphasis on salesmanship bothers some Democrats who believe the party faces more fundamental questions over its future direction. "Podesta keeps saying 'What's our bumper sticker?'" one Democratic policy expert says. "The problem is not the bumper sticker. The problem is the car."

Don't say that too loudly at a Center for American Progress event. Yes, organizers say they are searching for new ideas. They're just not searching too hard. "We respect the need for debate," Podesta said at the Center's coming-out party. "But our goal is to win." **NR**

■ **WASHINGTON**

A Good Man, Kept Down

Why is John Warner playing games with James Roche?

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHEN President Bush tapped Air Force secretary James Roche for a transfer to the Army as its civilian chief in May, he did not appreciate Sen. John Warner's willingness to put blame-shifting and grandstanding over the needs of the Army. Warner, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is holding up Roche's nomination over the sexual-abuse scandal at the Air Force Academy. The scandal predates Roche's tenure as secretary by at least a decade, while coinciding neatly with Warner's own stint as the top Republican on the committee responsible for oversight of the Academy.

Last February, allegations surfaced that officials at the Academy had fostered an atmosphere that discouraged cadets from reporting sexual assaults. Politicians howled, investigations were launched, and heads rolled. Two Air Force teams and a Defense Department group were deployed to look into the scores of assaults and rapes reported by female cadets since 1993. Roche initially defended the school's leadership, but as the full scope of the scandal became clear, he replaced the Academy's top four officers in March.

Congress ordered its own investigation. The result was a report to Warner's committee by an independent panel in September. At that hearing, Senator Warner seemed more concerned with pinning the blame for the scandal on Secretary Roche than with hearing about the scope of the scandal or examining the two dozen recommendations for reform. Throughout the hearing, the independent panel's chairman, former congressman Tillie Fowler, was pressed to accuse Secretary Roche of

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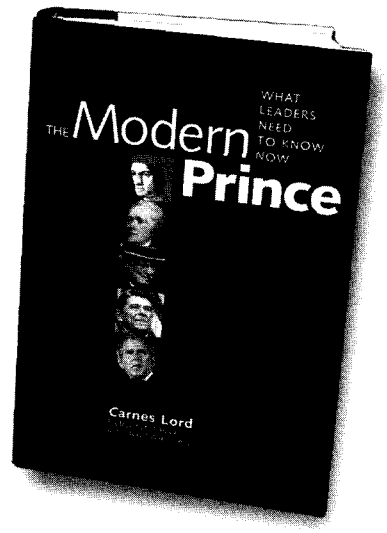

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complicity in the scandal. While Warner praised the work of the "unbiased, unaffiliated group of our citizens" on the panel, he rejected their repeated insistence that they were "impressed with the leadership of Secretary Roche."

The panel found that there had been 142 allegations of sexual assault at the Academy since 1993. Fowler explained that the atmosphere that put female cadets at such risk had "plagued the Academy for at least a decade and, quite possibly, for as long as women have attended the institution." Secretary Roche had been on the job for about a year and a half when the scandal became public. John Warner has been on the Senate Armed Services Committee for 24 years. Evidence of problems at the Academy first surfaced 20 years ago, but was largely ignored. In 1995, the Senate did hold a hearing on sexual harassment in the Air Force, but there was little follow-up. According to Tillie Fowler, "Secretary Roche moved very quickly once he had the information." Warner, it seems, has moved just as quickly to echo criticisms of Roche made by Democrats on his committee, including Sens. Carl Levin and Hillary Clinton.

Female cadets arrived at the Academy in 1976. In 1978, John Warner, then married to Elizabeth Taylor, lost a nomination fight to Richard Obenshain, who died in a plane crash soon after. Virginia Republicans reluctantly selected Warner to replace him. Warner won the seat by fewer than 5,000 votes. During his first term, he danced to the tune of those who had brought him to the Senate: Virginia conservatives recall that Warner would ask them, "What would Obenshain do?" before important votes. The answer to that question put Warner in the "No" camp on the creation of the Department of Education in 1979. Since his first re-election in 1984, however, Warner has been more likely to be influenced by Democratic colleagues than by his state's conservative voters. Warner ran for re-election without a Democratic opponent last year.

The senator's predilection for siding with the other team is well established. A former GOP Senate aide recalls that, in the late 1980s, Republican members of the Armed Services Committee caucused in secret to figure out how to prevent Warner from going along with then-chairman Sam Nunn, a Democrat, on most defense issues. "It wasn't clear if Warner was a problem because he didn't understand the issues well enough to defend Reagan's positions, or because he was intimidated by the popularity of Sam Nunn," the aide explains.

At a committee hearing this September, a clearly frustrated Sen. Pat Roberts, Republican of Kansas, delivered a rare public rebuke of Warner for allowing Sen. Robert Byrd to run well over his allotted time for questioning. Warner had not been able to bring himself to cut off the lengthy harangue of Defense Department officials by one of the administration's harshest critics. He explained defensively that Byrd was shown deference because he had a

Sen. John Warner

key role in appropriating the $87 billion request for Iraq reconstruction, and that "his support will be needed." Within a few weeks, Byrd, who has spent the past months hysterically accusing President Bush of lying the country into war, predictably opposed Bush's request.

Thus the Roche business is only the most recent example of Warner's willingness to oppose his own party and its president—during wartime, no less—at key moments and on key issues. Noting that it is inconceivable that a Democratic committee chairman would so frustrate a president of his own party over such an important appointment, a former Republican senator strongly criticizes Warner's hold on Roche's nomination: "It's hard to imagine walking off from a president at a time like this."

Other Republicans are also sharply critical of Senator Warner's scapegoating of Secretary Roche. Republican congressman Joel Hefley, whose district includes the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, complains that the Senate session on the Fowler panel's report was "a confirmation hearing without the nominee." Hefley believes that Roche "took the issue very seriously and dove into it" in the interest of restoring the Academy's reputation.

In contrast to the Senate, a September 24 House hearing on the Fowler panel's findings revealed the uncomfortable truth about where blame more properly lies for ignoring problems at the Academy: with Congress itself. Democratic representative Vic Snyder of Arkansas pointed out that Congress had been on notice since at least 1994, owing to General Accounting Office reports, that there appeared to be a problem with sexual harassment and assaults at the Air Force Academy. Snyder told the panel members that they had treated Congress too gently in their report. "[I]t's not like we've been adjourned for the last decade. I mean, we've been here," he said. Members of the Fowler panel agree that there has been a clear dereliction of duty on the part of certain members of Congress.

The president, the vice president, and congressional leaders appoint both congressmen and private citizens to the Academy's 15-member Board of Visitors, which is charged with visiting the Academy annually and reporting to the president on its findings, including the state of morale and discipline. An investigation by the *Denver Post* revealed that the board first heard reports about discipline problems and sexual assaults in 1983 and that misconduct problems surfaced repeatedly in the years that followed. There is widespread agreement that the Board of Visitors failed to take its oversight responsibilities seriously. Over the past nine years, less than half the board members attended the yearly meetings. Only two of seven congressional members were at October's meeting.

The board's new chairman, former Virginia governor Jim Gilmore, promises to insist on a change: "In the future we'll be looking for an attendance commitment and a leadership commitment from Congress." Currently, there is one vacancy on the Board of Visitors—the one that Sen. John Warner, as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, has yet to fill. **NR**

ROMAN GENN

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■ ESSAY

Loyalty, How Quaint

The timeless importance of an old quality

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

EVEN in our postmodern age 19th-century ideas like patriotism, loyalty, and treason still cause controversy. The recent news that some Arab-American and Islamic translators and chaplains at the military prison at Guantanamo Bay were either openly sympathetic to their captives or direct conduits to terrorist organizations in the Middle East might seem like an open-and-shut case of treason. And such perfidy is unfortunately not a new development in this current war. There were also citizens of the United States—most prominently John Walker Lindh—fighting for the Taliban and several dozen more Americans organizing terrorist cells here at home. Posters proclaiming "Bomb Texas, not Iraq"—along with speakers equating the United States with Nazi Germany while praising North Korea and Cuba—were not uncommon during televised peace marches on the eve of the Iraq campaign. A mere two years ago, on Halloween night 2001, only a few weeks after 9/11, the New Black Panther party and assorted Islamic clerics in America—Imam Abdul Alim Musa, Imam Mohammed Asi, Imam Abdel Razzag al-Raggad, and others of the various mosques in the Washington, D.C., area—cheered on the Taliban, venting racist, anti-Semitic (and subversive) propaganda in a time of war, and showed themselves somewhat pleased at the deaths of thousands of Americans. It was all broadcast live from the National Press Club.

Mr. Hanson, a classics scholar, is the author of *Ripples of Battle: How Wars of the Past Still Determine How We Fight, How We Live, and How We Think.*

NONE DARE CALL IT . . .

Yet Americans of the present age are uneasy with such an absolutist idea as "traitors" who are "disloyal" to the United States. Of course, we can accept as treasonous a rogue FBI agent who is caught on tape selling secrets to the Soviets; but barring such brazen acts we find issues of loyalty more nebulous and not so clear-cut, and thus are hesitant to tell anyone what to do or think.

Part of our problem with "treason" is the age-old ambiguous nature of individualism within Western society. We mavericks feel little unease about leaving an employer, organization, or community when new allegiances so often promise us greater satisfaction and material benefits. Sometimes there is nothing intrinsically wrong with such a transitory lifestyle that certainly leads to upward mobility; but the dividends of personal freedom and affluence also can promote a shallow and smug self-absorption in which thousands of private agendas rebel at the claims of the state's own. It is almost as if individual Westerners believe liberty—the freedom to work, earn, go, do what they please when they please—is their automatic and assured birthright, an entirely natural occurrence owing nothing to the culture and countries that alone guarantee political freedom's rare existence.

This modern unease with proclaiming allegiance to the state over one's associates was best captured by the novelist E. M. Forster's oft-quoted remark during the nightmare years of Nazi ascendance. "I hate the idea of causes," he wrote, "and if I had to choose between betraying my country and betraying my

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friend, I hope I should have the guts to betray my country." One wonders about what Mr. Forster's life and work would have been like had he lived with his friends in a Nazi-occupied Great Britain. Such a promotion of rights over responsibilities is a long way from the carefully delineated path that Socrates walked between the dilemma of conflicting loyalties to the polis and to an individual's sense of morality. While the old battle-veteran bravely chose not to renounce his own views when bullied by the democratic jurors at Athens, he also reminds us in the *Crito* that the citizen of a consensual society does not have the right to ignore or break the laws simply because he has found them inconvenient to his own ideology or political position. In fact, the manner in which Socrates confronts his accusers and awaits his execution is really quite conservative. His is a sort of patriotic nonviolent martyrdom that does not destroy the fabric of legality, but seeks instead by the ultimate sacrifice to admonish—or better yet, shame—wayward citizens to be as good as the ideals of their own government.

The specter of Vietnam and Watergate also played a role in the modern American erosion of the notion of loyalty to country. During the 1960s we ignored the nuanced lesson of Socrates, and thus wrongly conflated the pathology of blind devotion to our elected leaders with something inherently wrong with the United States itself—as if Socrates' Athens, not weak Athenians, was the problem. Thus we were relentlessly admonished about the pernicious wages of "loyalty"—as if the problem perhaps was too much, or the wrong kind of, patriotism per se, rather than the abuse of it by a few isolated apparatchiks. Two of the most infamous lines of that era, after all, were Lyndon Johnson's braggadocio about the need for a trustworthy assistant ("I want his pecker in my pocket"), and Charles Colson's purported brag that he was "prepared to walk over [his] grandmother" for Nixon.

The excesses of Vietnam and Watergate were wrongly chalked up not just to a rather paranoid Johnson or Nixon, but to a pervasive faith in government itself. America of the 1960s had not gotten over the recent hysteria about "loyalty oaths," Hollywood Communist inquiries, and McCarthyism, and it could not really accept that the well-educated and idealistic Rosenbergs and Alger Hiss had been abject traitors. Indeed, a Charles Colson was seen as more of a threat to the republic than Jane Fonda, who actively sought an enemy victory and broadcast Communist propaganda to American troops in the field. The former was rightly jailed, the latter wrongly excused or even praised.

There have also been other contemporary ideological force-multipliers that helped to undermine the ideas of both "loyalty" and its antithesis "treason." Multiculturalism—or the contemporary fad that no one culture inherently is any better than, or deserves to be privileged over, another—has made it hard to express faith in the United States as a singular country worthy of devotion and sacrifice. Inherent in the great addresses of a Pericles, Lincoln, or Churchill were appeals to citizens to ponder the beauties and values of their own civilization. Listeners were instructed to realize how lucky they were to live under such liberal regimes, and then asked to pledge in their private lives to protect and improve the commonwealth. In contrast, sometime in the 1960s and 1970s, frustrated by the slowness of progress on civil rights, furious over lingering economic disparity, and mired in shame about past abuses, our elites jettisoned the old American ideal of a melting-pot, multiracial society united by one culture. America was instead to be replaced with the romance of the salad bowl: Different ethnic and racial groups were to maintain their own core cultures as if they could still somehow in spirit remain full citizens of one country.

A FANTASY OF AMERICA

In one of the most paradoxical developments in American history, idealists on the left somehow convinced millions that America really was at heart a tribal society of white, male capitalists, whose easily caricatured literature and values reflected just those parochial interests. Under this revisionism the West went from a culture of universal ideals, blind to the particular circumstances of its adherents, to the property of a particular race (white), from a particular place (Europe). And from that distortion, it was an easy step to idealize the "Other" in similarly tribal terms—a Che, Fidel, Ho, or Mao offered "alternative discourses" that did not have to be adjudicated by traditional logic, morality, or practicality. No, their dogmas could be declared equally legitimate or even superior on the basis that they were from the Third World and of purportedly non-Western pedigrees.

Race, ethnicity, and national origin excused totalitarianism and outright genocide in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and China. We feel the aftershocks of multiculturalism even today, from the ridiculous to the sublime—as students in California of Mexican heritage often attend segregated graduation ceremonies predicated on race at state-funded universities, while we award literary prizes to "African-American novelists" or "Native American poets" rather than simply to talented Americans who chose to write about the particular background and landscape they know best. Indeed one of the most disturbing symptoms of multiculturalism run amok showed itself during the recent California recall election, which witnessed the

The excesses of Vietnam and Watergate were wrongly chalked up not just to a rather paranoid Johnson or Nixon, but to a pervasive faith in government itself.

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calculated metamorphosis of the once centrist and popular Cruz Bustamante into a shrill tribalist of the first order. Most Californians cringed—but kept silent—at his acceptance of illegal donations from the Indian gaming industry that had hired his brother, his advocacy for driver's licenses for illegal immigrants from Mexico, his failure to denounce a MEChA manifesto that talked of "a bronze state for a bronze people," and his later campaign commercials and whipped-up appearances before almost exclusively Latino audiences.

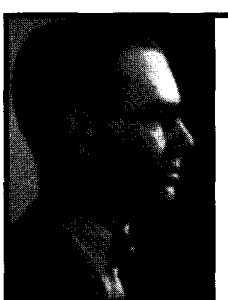
Relativism, and its twin utopian perfectionism, also make us uneasy with the idea of national unity and loyalty. These modern Sirens hypnotically whisper to us that since we cannot be 100 percent perfect, why even try? Who, after all, possesses enough morality, wisdom, or legitimate authority to promote "loyalty"—loyalty to what, to whom, when, where, and under what circumstances? We often quote Samuel Johnson's famous warning that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel"—but fail to note both that Johnson was talking specifically about false patriotism, and that elsewhere, on at least a half-dozen occasions, he praised both the patriot and the necessity of loyalty to one's country.

Critical to this cynicism is the reductio ad absurdum, where the extreme and rare case is cited first, not last—and as the primary, not the last-resort, reason to deprecate loyalty: "How can I support a country that promotes racism? A military that bombs children? A president that was not really elected?" And when deliberately targeting civilians in a time of peace is simplistically equated to injuring civilians while bombing enemy soldiers during war—death being the common denominator that trumps all considerations of circumstance, chance, intent, and result—how can I pledge my support to America in Afghanistan? The relativist further proclaims "Not in my name" to armed defense, but still expects that same government to ensure that hijacked airliners do not vaporize him at work. Yet loyalty demands confidence in some ability of the state to determine right and wrong, which is then the fountainhead for requisite action under difficult circumstances. It is always easier to slur unabashed loyalists as unthinking Neanderthals (conjuring up Vietnam-era slogans like "My country right or wrong") than to identify those who are sophisticated and disloyal as simple traitors.

Historical revision has done its part as well in destroying the old virtue of national loyalty. If we teach our youth that World War II was mostly the Japanese internment camps (never mentioning the context of a liberal governor and president, hand-in-glove, panicking amid wartime hysteria) and Hiroshima (always apart from the fear of a bloodbath when hitting the shores of the Japanese mainland)—while ignoring the Rape of Nanking, Guadalcanal, or MacArthur's postbellum creation of a liberal Japanese society—then how can the citizen look to the past to galvanize his confidence in the present?

Yet to the classical mind it was never a question of whether an Athenian or Roman was free from error. Rather the only rub was whether his country was at least better than the alternative. For example, how often do American schools really discuss the debate over women's rights or integrating the military after World War II in the context of how much worse the world outside the United States was at the time? Do we remind our students of the horrendous and bloody landscape between 1930 and 1950 beyond our shores—the mass murdering of races and religions in fascist Europe and Japan, the millions butchered in the Soviet Union and China, the tribal butchery and mayhem in Africa and India, and the iron-clad rule of dictators in Latin America? If one is taught, instead, that the United States has been the prime historical nexus of gender, race, and class pathology, then why should one feel any loyalty to it in the here and now?

Finally, the most recent manifestation of internationalism has done its part to contribute to the demise of loyalty and patriotism. This idea of being a citizen not of the United States but "of the world" is, of course, age-old in the West—a common enough, even trite, line from Socrates to Kant. But recent developments have elevated the concept from philosophical speculation to a common tenet of our growing therapeutic culture, as unquestioned as UNICEF cards, Nobel Peace Prize–winning opportunists, and cuddly banalities from a Kofi Annan.



Gareth Jones
— "the anti-Duranty"

"What can you expect if you fearlessly expose the systematic, genocidal murder of 10 million people?"
"You can expect to be murdered . . . "
—Martin Sieff, *United Press International*

"Few people realize that between WWI, and WWII, there was a secret WWI.5. Ronald Reagan finished off this fight with the Evil Empire but 10 million Ukrainians gave their lives at the start. And Jones was the World's First Witness."
—Yaroslaw Chelak, Historian

". . . exposed Stalin . . . revealed Hitler . . . unearthed the secret policies of the Japanese. Jones was respected, admired and feared. "
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"Hollywood had to invent 'Indiana Jones,' but Gareth Jones is the real thing . . ."
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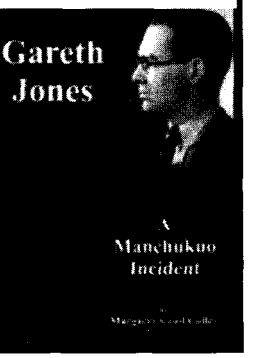

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Globalization now unites us with instant communications, from cell phones to the Internet. Its universal taste of blue jeans, T-shirts, and sunglasses makes us superficially identical through a universal fashion. And billions share the same predilections in film, music, and television. This homogeneity, of course, appears to break down more fundamental national differences—but in such a superficial way that only the naïve could think that because Mohamed Atta looked Western, lived in Germany, and attended a European university he surely would not mutter Koranic verses like a primordial jihadist as he rammed a jetliner into the World Trade Center.

The demise of the Soviet Union was another event that gave far too many elites the idea that the end of history really was on the horizon—as if disparate, but now mesmerized, tribes of the world would almost unconsciously ape the consumer capitalism and democracy of the West. For Europeans the disappearance of some 300 Soviet divisions on their borders persuaded many that the old international institutions—the U.N. particularly—that had long ago arisen from the ashes of World War II only to be subverted by the Soviet bloc could now at last fulfill their original liberal and dreamy intent.

Lost in all of this naïveté was any cold empirical reckoning that would have reminded us that an elected U.S. president and Congress, constrained by an independent judiciary and an ironclad Constitution, were far better protectors of human rights and national security than a U.N. Security Council that was captive to a Chinese veto, or a U.N. General Assembly that included such brutal regimes as those of Zimbabwe and Libya. For the American who professes loyalty to the United Nations rather than the United States, a certain number of beliefs are required, among them the following: that Kosovo, Bosnia, and Rwanda were not preventable; that the sole democracy in the Middle East—Israel—really deserves to be targeted by over 50 percent of all U.N. condemnatory resolutions; and that U.N. peacekeepers are subject to a higher military code of conduct than the U.S. Marine Corps.

THE GLUE OF A PEOPLE

Does the insidious erosion of national loyalty in our country really matter? It does, because on a variety of levels patriotism is the only glue that holds a diverse people together, especially during a war. We should remember that a liberal state is rare in civilization's history. Far more common has been the rule of the tribe or clan, to which individuals proclaim natural allegiance and then do not extend notions of justice to those outside their immediate kin group. In some sense, we have been plagued by just that kind of chaos in the Middle East—among tribal societies bound by first-cousin marriages and religious fanaticism, without any belief that the idea of "Afghanistan" or "Iraq" should transcend more immediate relationships with the family, local mullah, or ethnic enclaves. Contrast that separatism with Italian-, German-, and Japanese-Americans who fought their former fatherlands in World War II, John F. Kennedy's declaration that his Catholicism was secondary to his Americanism, or the new political career of the immigrant Arnold Schwarzenegger that will put him ideologically at odds with dozens of his own in-laws.

The greatest advocates of the liberal state always sought to subordinate familial, ethnic, racial, and geographical loyalties—from the Athenian reformer Cleisthenes, who tried to diminish tribal affiliations at Athens, to our own Founders, who sought to craft government that would transcend the chauvinism of the local clique. To understand why a much smaller, much poorer United States could tragically send thousands to their deaths in the air over Schweinfurt, on the ground at Sugar Loaf Hill, and at sea on creaky tankers in the mid Atlantic—and has worked itself into a near national hysteria over battling enemies in Afghanistan and Iraq far less impressive than the Waffen SS or the kamikazes—we might take note of the last half-century of pernicious ideologies and mentalities that privileged self and tribe over the general interest of the state.

Does the insidious erosion of national loyalty in our country really matter? It does, because on a variety of levels patriotism is the only glue that holds a diverse people together, especially during a war.

So we have forgotten the tenuousness of our own great experiment: Of all of civilization's rare nation-states, the United States was by far the most extraordinary and ambitious in its efforts to forge one people from so many diverse backgrounds and heritages. We alone have tried to elevate a common adherence to a constitution and its ideals over primary loyalties to diverse religions, races, and ethnicities—to such a degree that it is impossible to determine how a typical American even looks or worships.

But if we in America—either from the prejudices of the ignorant or the cynicism of the elite and educated—decide that the United States is not, and should not be, different from other countries (and is surely no better), then there is no intrinsic reason why any of us would wish to sacrifice anything on its behalf. And if we feel that our personal rights are exclusively our own, why feel any responsibility to a consensual state that is supposedly neither creator nor guarantor of our freedom? If and when we reach that point of abject cynicism—and many equally impressive consensual societies have, whether Athens in 338 B.C., Rome around the mid-5th century A.D., Venice in the 17th century, or France in spring 1940—then there is also no historical reason why we should continue to exist as a nation. And indeed at that point we will most certainly not. **NR**

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■ **PUBLIC POLICY**

Marriage Amendment Jitters

The social Right tries to get it together

RAMESH PONNURU

SANDY RIOS, the president of Concerned Women for America, was pounding the table. She was at an October 1 meeting of social-conservative activists and the leading Republicans in the House and Senate. Some Republicans were worried about the activists' project: amending the Constitution to prohibit same-sex marriage and, possibly, civil unions as well. Rios said that social-conservative groups were energized as never before. "The grassroots will get motivated and members will have to vote for it," she said. "We will take out squishy Republicans."

Now that's confidence. Passing a constitutional amendment is difficult in the best of circumstances. Supporters of a Federal Marriage Amendment will have to get two-thirds of the House, two-thirds of the Senate, and three-quarters of the state legislatures to vote for it. If all the Republicans in Congress vote for the amendment, it will still need the support of 16 Senate Democrats and 61 House Democrats. That's a tall order. Especially when you consider that, until recently, social conservatives had not even been able to get two-thirds of their own organizations on the same page.

The social-conservative groups have been united in the belief that something must be done to prevent state and federal judges from imposing same-sex marriage on the country. They were alarmed when the Supreme Court struck down sodomy laws in the spring—not so much because they supported those laws, although many of them did, as because they thought that the Court's reasoning would in time lead it to redefine marriage. They expected that the Massachusetts supreme court would impose same-sex marriage on that state over the summer (although it has not yet ruled).

Bill Frist, the Senate majority leader, gave the social Right a boost by coming out for a marriage amendment right after the

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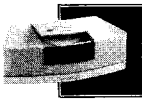

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Supreme Court's ruling. But social conservatives spent the summer and early fall arguing with one another about what the amendment should try to do. The Alliance for Marriage, which has been leading the campaign for an amendment since the Vermont courts established civil unions, had proposed specific language—but the social conservatives could not agree on what the language meant. Marilyn Musgrave, a Republican congressman from Colorado who had agreed to sponsor the Alliance's amendment, thought that it left civil unions alone. Two of the drafters of the amendment, Gerard Bradley of Notre Dame Law School and Robert George of Princeton University, thought to the contrary that it nullified some civil-union laws.

Some conservatives, especially those in Congress, were in the Musgrave camp: They thought that the amendment did not touch civil unions and were happy that it didn't. (They thought either that states should make their own decisions about civil unions or that an amendment banning civil unions could not be enacted.) Other people agreed that the amendment left civil unions alone, but objected to that silence. They wanted an amendment that would ban gay marriage *and* civil unions. Bill Bennett, Rios, and the Family Research Council, among others, argued strongly that it would be pointless to fight for an amendment that allowed gay marriage in all but name. The amendment had to "protect an institution, not a word."

So the objectors toyed with different wording. But they again ran into trouble. Everyone agreed that it did not make sense for a constitutional amendment to go into great detail about what benefits would and would not be available to gay couples. Another idea was to try to strengthen a 1996 law called the Defense of Marriage Act. That act defined marriage as heterosexual for purposes of federal law, and attempted to safeguard the ability of states to refuse to recognize other states' same-sex marriages. Rep. John Hostettler, an Indiana Republican, wanted to pass a law to block federal courts from hearing challenges to the act.

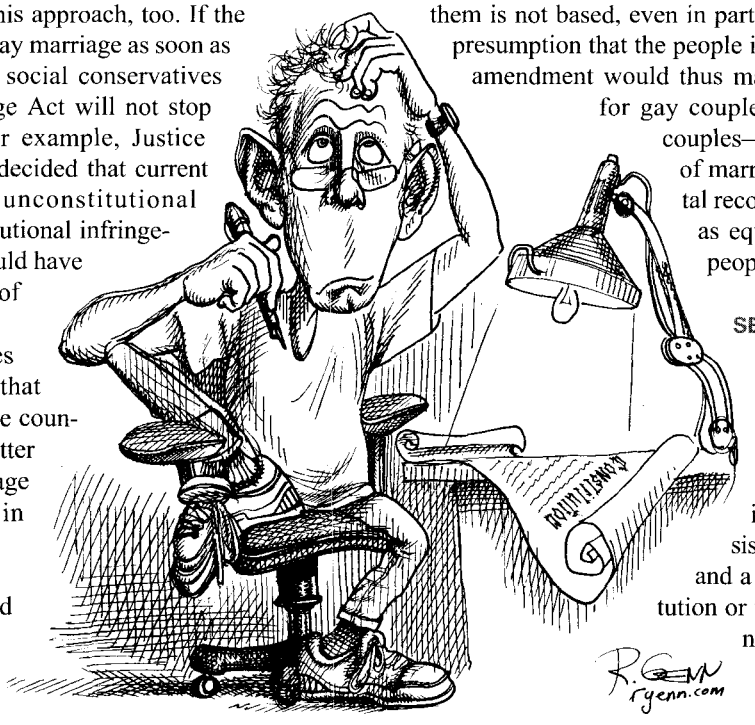
There were problems with this approach, too. If the courts are prepared to impose gay marriage as soon as they can get away with it, as social conservatives worry, the Defense of Marriage Act will not stop such judicial activism. If, for example, Justice Kennedy and four colleagues decided that current marriage laws constituted unconstitutional discrimination (or an unconstitutional infringement on liberty), state laws would have to change even if the Defense of Marriage Act stayed on the books. If 50 state judiciaries imposed same-sex marriage, that would be the policy all over the country, and, again, it wouldn't matter whether the Defense of Marriage Act was still theoretically in force.

As the debate over wording continued, the White House and Orrin Hatch, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, were urging the amendment's supporters to make it clear that they would not eliminate civil unions. In the four years since Vermont adopted civil unions under court order, support for them has become, in some respects, the moderate position (which is evidence of how badly the social Right has been losing). The social-conservative groups took to holding meetings without including anyone from Capitol Hill—not even Musgrave was allowed in, or social-Right stalwarts such as Rep. Joe Pitts of Pennsylvania. Conservative activists were pulling the amendment right while the Republican establishment was pulling it left. It looked as though the amendment would fall apart.

It fell to Chuck Colson, the leader of Prison Fellowship and perhaps the most unifying figure among social conservatives today, to find a solution. On October 15, he succeeded in getting more than 20 groups to come up with a common position. They agreed that the amendment would prohibit gay marriage. It would also prohibit the states and the federal government, including both the courts and the legislatures, from providing any benefits to people that were contingent on their being involved in a sexual relationship outside of marriage. The amendment would, however, allow state legislators to extend the particular privileges of marriage to gay couples—just not *as* gay couples. People not in gay relationships would also have to be eligible.

Say, for example, a state had made co-signing for loans a privilege of marriage. The state legislature could decide, under the amendment, to extend that privilege to any two people who share a home: a lesbian couple, or an unmarried heterosexual couple, or two sisters who share the rent, or whoever. The legislature could come up with a bundle of privileges formerly reserved to married couples—bereavement leave, hospital-visitation rights, the ability to make joint adoptions, and so on—and provide them more widely.

Whether the amendment agreed upon by the groups at Colson's meeting would ban "civil unions," then, is not a yes-no question. It would allow civil unions so long as eligibility for them is not based, even in part, on the fact, supposition, or presumption that the people involved are having sex. The amendment would thus make it theoretically possible for gay couples—and cohabiting straight couples—to have *any* of the benefits of marriage, except for governmental recognition of their relationships as equivalent to those of married people.



ROMAN GENN

SENTENCE BY SENTENCE

That's what Bradley and George thought the original text of the Alliance for Marriage's proposed amendment did. It read: "Marriage in the United States shall consist only of the union of a man and a woman. Neither this constitution or the constitution of any state, nor state or federal law, shall be construed to require that marital status or the legal

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incidents thereof be conferred upon unmarried couples or groups." At Colson's meeting, it was decided to add a third, clarifying sentence: "Neither the federal government nor any state shall predicate benefits, privileges, rights, or immunities on the existence, recognition, or presumption of sexual conduct or relationships." The groups did not decide that this language had to stay in all its particulars, but all remain committed to the concept they think it embodies.

There is still controversy about the meaning of the second sentence, the one about "legal incidents." In this case, the controversy has been public and the arguments have come from the social Left rather than the social Right. Liberals and libertarians have complained that this sentence would radically restrict the powers of state legislatures. They envision a scenario in which, say, the Ohio legislature passed a law allowing joint tenants, rather than just married people, to co-sign loans. Courts would not be able to enforce that law, they argue, because they would have to "construe" the new law to confer "incidents of marriage" on unmarried people.

Bradley and George make a good case that this criticism is simply a misunderstanding. The "legal incidents" of marriage are whatever state laws say they are. If the legislature says that only married people can automatically co-sign loans for each other, co-signing loans is an incident of marriage. If the legislature passes a new law saying all joint tenants can co-sign loans, it's not an incident of marriage anymore. What the second sentence says is that when a state legislature has reserved some benefit for married couples, the courts cannot force that benefit to be extended more broadly.

Let's say that the amendment has passed and that the Virginia legislature has left co-signing loans as an incident of marriage. Further, let's say a gay couple (or an unmarried heterosexual couple) go to court and say they have a right to co-sign each other's loans. The Fourteenth Amendment requires states to treat people equally, they say, and that means the state has to grant them the benefit. Under the Federal Marriage Amendment, the court would have to send these plaintiffs home unsatisfied. The court would not be able to "construe" the Fourteenth Amendment to "require" that the state provide a benefit it has reserved to married couples—a "legal incident" of marriage—to the unmarried. If, on the other hand, the legislature had extended this privilege more widely, the court would have no trouble going along with that.

THE FEDERALIST HESITATION

Proponents of the amendment realize that they will have to address the argument that it violates federalist principles, a point that makes many conservatives who are sympathetic to it hesitate. The proponents have four responses. First, they say, marriage law is not exclusively a state concern. The federal government got rid of polygamy and forced states to allow interracial marriage. Second, some of the reasons federalism is valu-

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able do not apply here—not, at least, if gay marriage is, in fact, a bad idea. Federalism is often defended because the states are "laboratories of democracy" and because different policies are appropriate for different states. Most social conservatives don't think that we need state experimentation to find out whether gay marriage is a good idea or to prove that it may be a good idea for some places. Third, they note that almost all the state governments would have to approve the amendment for it to be enacted. The states would not, in practice, be trampled on. Fourth, they argue that the alternative to their amendment is not federalism, but a judicially imposed national regime of gay marriage.

If that's true, then the amendment would provide states greater leeway than they would otherwise have. It would remain up to state legislatures to decide which benefits should be reserved for marriage, and which should be more widely available. The social-conservative supporters of the amendment stress that the amendment does not represent a grand compromise in which they give in on the question of benefits for gays. They figure they will fight over that issue state by state.

The social conservatives think that their amendment is politically viable. True, it would force a substantial modification of the few existing civil-union laws, and many of the existing domestic-partnership laws. People who believe that equality demands that the government recognize gay relationships as on a par with marriages will oppose the amendment. But proponents think that it would put Republicans in the position of supporting the traditional definition of marriage without necessarily denying any benefits to gays. "The outcome of this debate will depend on the extent to which conservatives are seen as pro-marriage rather than anti-gay," says a senior Republican congressman. Some proponents of the amendment think they have found a useful line: The amendment isn't against civil unions, they say, only against "discriminatory" civil unions that are for gays only (or gays and unmarried straight couples only).

It isn't clear that the White House and most congressional Republicans will agree that the amendment is doable. Tom DeLay, the House majority leader, has sometimes said he is against amending the Constitution at all. The White House has been waiting for the Massachusetts court to act. It still has not, even though its decision was expected months ago. If the court brought full-fledged gay marriage to an American state for the first time, there might be a strong public reaction against it—and the president would have a clear reason to come out for an amendment to prevent gay marriage. But the court may decide to opt for civil unions, or some other dodge, in order to avoid a political reaction.

I'm skeptical of the amendment's chances. The rules for democratically enacting constitutional amendments are such that amendments can be easily defeated. If one of the two major parties uniformly opposes an amendment, the amendment is dead. If a *wing* of a party opposes it and commands any significant support in the country, the amendment will probably go down. All of the Democratic presidential candidates have come out against the marriage amendment.

Many amendment supporters seem resigned to fighting a long, difficult battle for it over the course of several elections. "There is more passion than any issue I have experienced," says Colson. "This is a very significant wedge issue in my opinion." **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH**

The Perils of 'Fat Acceptance'

Density-as-destiny and other myths

JENNIFER GROSSMAN

On my office wall hangs a framed *New Yorker* cartoon of a map of the United States that labels the entire country "Too Fat," save for the dot designating Los Angeles as "Too Skinny." I chose it as a parody both of the field in which I work—health and nutrition—and of the area in which I live: Malibu, California. Camryn Manheim, author of *Wake Up, I'm Fat!*, described Southern California as a place "where people shop for groceries in bikinis." What for fat people are "the two most terrifying things in the world, shopping for food and being practically naked, these sun-soaked creatures do simultaneously."

Which is why I thought this Land of the Lean a curious choice for this year's annual conference of the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance (NAAFA). I decided to investigate, drawn by both proximity and paradox. A conference premised on persuading people to accept rather than fight their fat seemed not just out of sync with its surroundings, but also out of step with the times.

Not a day goes by without fresh headlines about the prevalence, health risks, and mounting medical costs of obesity. This drumbeat of bad news, however, did nothing to deter those gathered at the LAX Marriott for four days of seminars on such topics as socializing at the pool-side luau and "Ample Hygiene for Ample People." To the extent that these research results were mentioned at all, they were dismissed as further proof of a society conspiring to make fat people feel bad. It put one in mind of what it must have been like to attend a gathering of student Marxists after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Thus news of the increased risk for cancer, heart disease, birth defects, osteoporosis, and diabetes among the overweight and the obese was greeted with defiance and waved off with denial. Besides, NAAFA members make use of rising weights as an opportunity to redefine normal. As Michael Fumento pointed out in his prophetic book *Fat of the Land* (1997): "The fat activists seem to take great comfort in the growing American waistline, seeing it as both a confirmation and a matter of safety in numbers."

With 2,500 members, NAAFA's numbers—and those of similar groups such as the Body Image Task Force and the Network for Self Esteem—remain relatively small. The real measure of their

Jennifer Grossman is director of the Dole Nutrition Institute.

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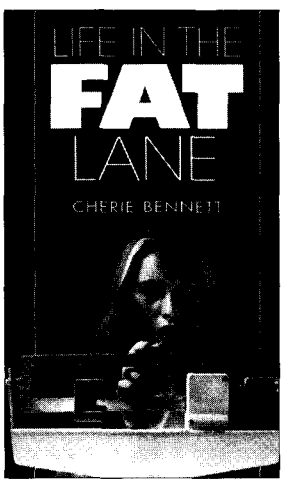
success lies in the degree to which society has come around to their point of view. If setting a size-acceptance gathering smack dab in image-obsessed L.A. seems ironic, it actually represents a dichotomous phenomenon underway across the land. As Americans have grown fatter, two things have occurred: One is the rise of the billion-dollar diet industry, the other is the emergence of a culture of accommodation. The first caters to those who want to lose weight, with advice ranging from the helpful and healthful to the harmful and fraudulent. The second caters to those who despair of losing weight by telling them to drop the guilt, not the pounds. In the lexicon of the latter, restrained eating is invariably described as "starving," gluttony is defended as "enjoying life" (even as it shortens it), and corpulence is euphemized as "curvaceous." Such language may make one feel better about being fat, but only at the cost of perpetuating the choices that helped create the condition.

'FAT AS FATE'

While fat activists have raised some legitimate concerns—lobbying doctors for wider examination tables, for example, or pressuring car manufacturers to provide seatbelt extensions for the extra-large—their view of fat as fate has undermined both individual efforts to overcome obesity and society's ability to deal with it effectively. The recent spate of fast-food lawsuits took advantage of enduring ambiguity over who bears responsibility for weight gain. At the same time, the equation of weight with other immutable traits, like race, has provided grounds for workplace-discrimination suits.



Indeed, the pioneers of fat acceptance modeled their movement after those of other aggrieved groups. Susie Orbach's 1978 bestseller *Fat Is a Feminist Issue* exhorted women to abandon their diets in rebellion against unattainable beauty ideals allegedly imposed by capitalism and patriarchy. But as this oppressed minority grew into an overweight majority, so did its literature, soon including such titles as *Big Fat Lies*; *Thin Is Just a Four-Letter Word*; *Eat, Drink & Be Merry*; *You Count, Calories Don't*; *Life in the Fat Lane;* and *What Are You Looking At?: The First Fat Fiction Anthology*.

Though divergent in their aims, both the diet and the anti-diet books employ the same method: mind over matter. The diet books do this by enlisting willpower to lose weight, the anti-diet books by using wishful thinking to dismiss its importance altogether. Similarly, NAAFA endeavors to advance acceptance by retreating from reality. Upon registering for the conference, I entered a world in which "fat people are far less likely to get almost every form of cancer . . . than thin people" and in which dieting—not poor food choices or overeating—is the real cause of weight gain. For those who found their grip on unreality slipping, there was a refresher seminar entitled "Relapse Prevention for Recovered Dieters" to help them guard against those moments of weakness "when weight loss looks seductive." Indeed, what was seductive here was not washboard abs or buns of steel, but rather the Buddha-like bellies and pillowy posteriors celebrated by the few FAs (fat admirers) here to meet BBWs (big beautiful women) and attend the "Men Who Love Fat Women" session.

I arrived at the conference with a degree of anxiety, fearing not just that I would fail to fit in, but that my very presence would attract hostility. As a Size 4 workout fanatic, I am one "skinny bitch," in the view of fat apologists. As sitcom-actress Mo'Nique comically observed in her book *Skinny Women Are Evil*, "Skinny bitches know who they are. If your dress size is in the single digits, chances are I'm talking to you. You're evil and need to be destroyed." With this indictment ringing in my ears, I marched my skinny behind up to the registration table. The extra-large lady behind the desk eyed me with animosity, a Botero staring down a Giacometti. I told her that I was pre-registered and as she searched for my name I busied myself examining the buttons for sale, buying a handful in a hapless gesture of good will. But which one to wear? "Large and In Charge"? "FAT by nature, PROUD by choice"? I settled on "Woman of Substance" and stashed the rest in my complimentary welcome bag.

For my first seminar I was torn between a "Chair Dancing" class and a session entitled "Worth Your Weight." I chose the latter even though, by that calculation, I was obviously the most worthless member of the group. Our facilitator, Barbara Altman Bruno, Ph.D., author of *Worth Your Weight*, led the lecture/group-therapy session on attitudes toward fat in modern America and different cultures through the ages—recounting how fat women have been prized in Soviet Russia, Third World Africa, and ancient Egypt. Her point, of course, was that perceptions of beauty are relative rather than absolute, so it makes little sense to "weigh our worth" in scales equilibrated by Madison Avenue.

Though divergent in their aims, both the diet and the anti-diet books employ the same method: mind over matter.

This view of the fungibility of beauty ideals is an oft-repeated and over-exaggerated one. Sure, flappers were flat-chested, and postwar wives were wasp-waisted by Dior, but, for the past half-century in America, fashionable figures have, by and large, been anything but Rubens-esque. It's true that, every season, women's magazines run their "in" and "out" columns and, like clockwork, inform us once again that "curves" are in and "super-thin" is out, but the only real difference between Gisele Bundchen and Kate Moss is a couple of cup sizes. As for

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Marilyn Monroe's famous Size 14, I've seen the actual dress she wore in her nationally televised birthday serenade of President Kennedy, and it stands as Exhibit A in size-inflation: By today's standards, it would comfortably fit a Size 8.

But Dr. Altman Bruno is correct in a deeper sense. While ideals of beauty may not change that dramatically over the course of our lifetime, our own exteriors—whether lithe or large—will. To set one's self-esteem by how well we match up against the ageless, unlined faces and adolescent bodies that adorn fashion covers is masochistic madness. Fitness, sunscreen, plastic surgery, and hormone therapy may temporarily postpone the inevitable, but unless we can finally bring ourselves to accept what we cannot change—in this case, the passage of time—we are destined to despair. It's only when this axiom is applied to the condition of obesity that I get lost. But belief in density as destiny lies at the heart of fat acceptance. So immutable, in this view, is one's weight, that even to try to change it is as futile and, indeed, dangerous as attempting to alter natural law.

GOOD FOODS AND BAD

Although "Worth Your Weight" was supposed to be about cultural attitudes toward fat, as I discovered it is impossible to sit through more than 15 minutes of one of these seminars without someone circling back to the evils of dieting. Dr. Altman Bruno told our group, "The best way to develop an eating disorder is to go on a diet, because it makes some foods good and some foods bad."

I thought back to when I was 15 and went on my first diet, and realized she was right. Among my favorite foods at the time were pecan-sandy cookies, butterscotch sundaes, Cheetos, and cream soda. As a result of loving these foods a little too much I found my jeans a little too tight and so began what would become a lifelong habit of reading food labels and counting calories. I learned that, measure for measure, fruits and vegetables had relatively fewer calories whereas cookies and junk food had relatively more—so I could eat all I wanted of the former, but very little of the latter if I wanted to lose weight and keep it off. So, yes, dieting can definitely make some foods good and others bad—and all that we've learned in recent years about fiber and phytochemicals, on one hand, and processed carbohydrates and partially-hydrogenated oils on the other, serves to reinforce that distinction.

Such sharp-edged distinctions are unwelcome at NAAFA, where roundness reigns and no food need fear discrimination. But while the all-foods-are-good message is cast into plain relief at a conference where the unhealthy results of alimentary inclusiveness are on ample display, the larger and more important truth is how this message, and other fat-acceptance standards, permeate our culture at large. Indeed, other than the context, there's little difference between Dr. Altman Bruno's message and the culture-wide conventional wisdom that "all foods can be part of a balanced diet."

Obviously, there is literal truth to this argument: No single food is responsible for obesity. Just as obviously, and more importantly, *some* foods—energy-dense, low-nutrient foods—are *more* responsible than others. By emphasizing the largely irrelevant assurance that eating foods such as ice cream and potato chips once in a while won't kill you, we obscure the far more fundamental fact that their regular overconsumption ultimately may.

This misplaced emphasis finds its parallel in the idea that images of lanky-limbed models encourage eating disorders such as anorexia. It's possible, but far from proven, that they do. But we are not faced with an epidemic of thinness. Whatever subliminal signals are being sent by the fashion spreads of *Elle* and *Vogue*, they are clearly being overwhelmed by accompanying editorial content preaching beauty-at-any-size. Contributing to this schizophrenia are conflicting vices—gluttony and vanity—and competing evolutionary drives: sex and survival. Gluttony abets over-consumption in the interest of surviving the next famine; vanity encourages approximation of existing beauty ideals in order to attract a viable mate. But whereas these biological bents have been with us for ages, the spike in obesity is a relatively recent phenomenon. In the past two decades alone, obesity has doubled; the percentage of children and adolescents who are overweight has more than tripled—surpassing over 9 million youths today.

Obviously, there is literal truth to this argument: No single food is responsible for obesity. Just as obviously, *some* foods are *more* responsible than others.

CULTURAL DRIFT AND LAISSEZ-MANGER

While the main drivers of this change were agricultural, economic, and technological in nature (e.g., cheap sweeteners, shelf-stable fats, labor-saving inventions), less tangible forces were also at work. Most significantly, mores shifted markedly in a more permissive, self-referential direction, influencing both our outlook and our behavior regarding issues ranging from drugs to sex to divorce. Society's approach to food and body size was not exempt from this drift.

Unfortunately, the very values needed to deal with the rising ubiquity of low-cost, high-calorie foods—namely, self-restraint and delayed gratification—were simultaneously going out of style. Similarly, while the number of new candy, gum, and snack

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products on the market was increasing tenfold in the two decades after 1980, our approach to child feeding changed as well. The tangible factors responsible for childhood weight gain—e.g., school vending machines, more junk food, and less exercise—have been widely recognized, as has their result. Far less remarked upon is how a simultaneous sea change in cultural values may have contributed to the problem: Namely, how a new laissez-faire approach to children's discipline encouraged a laissez-manger approach to their diets as well.

In *Fat Land: How Americans Became the Fattest People in the World*, Greg Critser describes how a new generation of child-rearing experts "tended to view the child as a kind of infant-sage" whose appetite should serve as the "guide to how parents should feed him." Thus the reference point for proper diet was anchored in subjective sensation rather than rational thought—in accordance with the progressive intellectual currents of the times. Critser cites the popular parenting book *Are You Hungry?: A Completely New Approach to Raising Children Free of Food and Weight Problems*, in which authors Jane Hirschmann and Lela Zaphiropoulos argue that children "themselves should have the responsibility of determining the foods they eat."

This "self-demand" feeding rests upon the notion that children naturally know what foods their bodies need and when they are full. While this may hold some validity for infants and toddlers, study after study demonstrates that after about age five, children, like adults, do not know when they are full. Portion size is far more likely to determine a child's food intake than any internal cues. At a time when children needed parents more than ever to shield them from an increasingly fattening food environment and to set limits on consumption, experts were telling parents to butt out. Parents, in turn, were all too grateful to be relieved of the entire Passchendaele of arguing with kids over what and where to eat.

The chief reason to question fat acceptance is not that it makes it harder for fat adults to lose weight, but that it makes it easier for children to gain weight. The more we treat fat as something beyond our control, the more we will candy-coat its consequences, the more parents will be disinclined to set limits on food, the more vulnerable we will leave children to sophisticated food marketing, and the more likely they will be to put on pounds that will potentially doom them to an adulthood of obesity, health problems, and early death.

On my second day at the NAAFA conference, I decided to check out the party line on childhood obesity by attending a seminar called "Save the Kids" with Marilyn Wann, publisher of *FAT!SO?* magazine and author of a book by the same name (of which half the proceeds went to NAAFA's Kids Project to combat fat prejudice in schools). The book made her a celebrity among this crowd, and deservedly so: It's a hilarious how-to guide to surviving being fat with your sense of humor and self-esteem intact, complete with a paper doll of the portly Paleolithic fertility icon Venus of Willendorf, outfitted with a wardrobe of lingerie, workout togs, and dashiki ("for the protest rally").

Wann was the only speaker I heard who made a point of emphasizing the importance of exercise and nutrition (her book contains an ode to broccoli, and her favorite ways of preparing it). Indeed, the reason she is so concerned with the recent spate of new childhood-obesity programs—which she calls "abolish the fat children" programs—is that she fears they may do "more harm than good by reinforcing stigma and poisoning kids against nutrition and exercise." Wann is also of the school that believes parents should "let the child decide how much to eat." It's impossible not to admire her work in schools, which she began after hearing the story of Brian Head, the high-school sophomore in Georgia who at 15 was driven to suicide by ceaseless taunting about his weight. Wann speaks out in schools against fat phobia because, she says, "I simply don't want any more fat children to die."

At a time when children needed parents more than ever to shield them from an increasingly fattening food environment, experts were telling parents to butt out.

THE TRIUMPH OF SELF-DELUSION

Wann and her fellow fat activists lose credibility, however, when they insist that excess weight is harmless to health. The truth is that emotional trauma is just one of the ways in which obesity hurts children. There are orthopedic problems, such as arthritic joints from overburdened limbs, slipped hips, and Blount's disease, in which the legs bow under excess weight, causing knee pain and limiting mobility. There are respiratory diseases like Pickwickian syndrome—in which shallow breath caused by excess abdominal fat leads to oxygen deprivation—sleep apnea, allergic asthma, and weakened lungs. There is hypertension, high blood pressure, and fatty build-up in the arteries of overweight children—all forerunners of coronary heart disease. And, most prevalently, there is the rise in a disease once thought to afflict only adults: Type 2 diabetes.

Unfortunately, many parents and school officials refuse to talk about these dangers for fear of fostering fat-phobia, or encouraging eating disorders like anorexia nervosa. Never mind that bingeing and compulsive eating are disorders, too. Never mind that the tiny number—epidemiologically speaking—of

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anorexics and bulimics is dwarfed by the legions of overweight and obese children. (In New York City elementary schools, fully half of schoolchildren are overweight or obese.) Never mind that anorexia afflicts mostly white, upper-middle-class girls, while the children at highest risk for obesity are disproportionately low-income minorities. Only the heartless among us could fail to be moved by the plight of obese children, who, according to a recent study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, rate their quality of life as low as that of children undergoing chemotherapy. But to challenge fat acceptance is not to endorse self-loathing or condone body bigotry. We do our children no favors when we downplay the dangers of obesity in the interest of safeguarding self-esteem.

Pro-fat propaganda has so insinuated itself into our way of thinking that surveys of greater body acceptance among increasingly overweight black girls are greeted with applause rather than alarm. One study found that 70 percent of black girls felt "satisfied" with their bodies—an attitude they carried on into adulthood. "Thanks to an accepting culture where being labeled 'thick' is considered a compliment," wrote Monica Wheeler in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, "black women have traditionally had more positive body images."

While treating fat as phat may provide black girls with a sense of self-esteem, it also eliminates their perceived need to change. As Greg Critser points out: "Such sidestepping denies poor minority girls a principal—if sometimes unpleasant—psychological incentive to lose weight: that of social stigma." While the fact that 56 percent of black girls do not get any regular exercise outside of school—as opposed to the 70 percent of white girls who do—may be primarily a function of economics and environment, I'd wager that white girls' much lamented "lack of satisfaction" with their bodies is at least partly responsible for why they are motivated to get moving.

Can feeling bad about being big be better for your health? One wishes it weren't so. One wishes weight loss were motivated by the desire to "be good to ourselves" rather than by shame, vanity, or the desire to appeal to the opposite sex. One wishes we all exercised out of sheer joy of movement rather than the need to burn calories. One wishes, above all, that we were valued for our inner qualities rather than for the way we look. This is why the blandishments of fat acceptance are so powerful, for they promise to grant such wishes and change unpleasant aspects of reality, not by requiring any effort on our part, but by fiat of make-believe.

Even in disagreement one sympathizes with the fat-acceptance activists, who want to believe that that they have no control over their size. Why? Because food is one of life's great pleasures, because dieting is difficult—indeed, more difficult in some ways than quitting smoking or giving up booze. Abstinence is not an option with food; every day we're challenged to make good choices. Weight, once lost, requires continued vigilance to ward off its return. Weighing these exigencies against the easy excuses offered by fat acceptance, one is reminded of Eric Hoffer's observation that "there are many who find a good alibi far more attractive than an achievement. For an achievement does not settle anything permanently. We still have to prove our worth anew each day: we have to prove that we are as good today as we were yesterday. But when we have a valid alibi for not achieving anything we are fixed, so to speak, for life." And in the case of obesity, a shorter life at that.

But so what? Aside from the $1,500 in additional, per-person annual medical costs associated with obesity—costs that are subsidized by the non-obese in the same way that tobacco-related health-care costs are subsidized by non-smokers—the burden of being big falls largely on the obese themselves. So why begrudge them their belief that their condition is the result of genetics rather than behavior, even if that alibi undermines any motivation to change?

Some of us are born with larger bone structures, or lower metabolisms. But very few of us were born to be obese.

Beauty may in the end remain in the eye of the beholder, but the practice of science and medicine relies on the premise of an objective reality in which truths—however unflattering, annoying, or inconvenient—are nonetheless true. In denying basic truths about fat, activists have turned the wisdom of the Serenity Prayer on its head. They urge acceptance of something that can be changed—excess weight—while trying to change what they cannot: the reality of its health risks. Even the most shameless among us would not dare pass off the unlovely wages of other risky behavior—smoker's cough, cirrhosis of the liver, hepatitis C, gonorrhea—as a genetic inheritance, much less a badge of pride. But when the substance abused is food, and when the consequence is corpulence, we are too willing to overthrow common sense in favor of politically correct platitudes like "beauty comes in all shapes and sizes."

To be sure, some of us are born with larger bone structures, or lower metabolisms. But very few of us were born to be obese. We can change how much we exercise and what foods we choose. Unlike acceptance, these choices require effort. For that reason, they promise a far more enduring esteem than that which rests on acceptance alone. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

CBS Presents: *Political Theater*

From "Oil and Water: The George H. W. Bush Story"

SCENE 47:

INTERIOR—OVAL OFFICE—NIGHT
President Bush is on the phone. SecDef Dick Cheney, NSA Scowcroft, et al. on the sofa. The president hangs up the phone.

BUSH
The Kuwaitis are insisting on a complete liberation. They say it's the price we must pay for our secret deals with Big Oil.

CHENEY
(rubbing hands together) Excellent! Excellent!

BUSH
Excellent for you, maybe. You've got that secret sweetheart back-door deal arranged with Halliburton. Me, I've got to face a bunch of loser Democrats in a re-election bid.

SCOWCROFT
I'm worried about that governor of Arkansas. He seems almost too dynamic and inspiring. How about we try to destroy him with innuendoes and gossip?

BUSH
What do you think, Dick?

CHENEY
(rubbing hands together) Excellent! Excellent!

From "A Hero's Plunge: The Ted Kennedy Story"

SCENE 79:

EXTERIOR—CHAPPAQUIDDICK BRIDGE—NIGHT
A car travels at a safe speed along a poorly marked road.

KENNEDY (VOICE OVER)
Gosh, this road is so dark. Maybe we should turn back.

MARY JO KOPECHNE (VOICE OVER)
C'mon! Can't you see how much I want you?

INTERIOR—CAR—CONTINUOUS
Kennedy pushes a drunken Mary Jo away.

KENNEDY
Okay, Miss. I think maybe you've had a little too much tonight.

She starts tearing at his clothes.

KENNEDY (CONT'D)
Miss! Miss, I beg of you! Don't do something you'll regret tomorrow during Mass!

But she continues to paw at him.

KENNEDY (CONT'D)
Stop! Stop! Miss, this is inappropriate behavior!

CUT TO:

EXTERIOR—BRIDGE—NIGHT
The car plunges over the bridge.

DISSOLVE TO:

EXTERIOR—EDGARTOWN HARBOR—NIGHT
A weary Ted Kennedy swims heroically to shore.

KENNEDY
(out of breath) Must . . . get . . . help . . .

FADE OUT.

From "Too Much Integrity, If That's Even Possible: The Jimmy Carter Story"

SCENE 97:

INTERIOR—WHITE HOUSE BEDROOM—NIGHT
Jimmy and Rosalynn complete a vigorous but tender bout of lovemaking. He embraces her.

ROSALYNN
What?

JIMMY
Nothing. I just want . . . I mean, can we just cuddle here for a moment?

ROSALYNN
Of course.

They cuddle. A KNOCK on the door.

AIDE (OFF SCREEN)
Sir?

JIMMY
What is it?

AIDE (OFF SCREEN)
Sir, we've just had a report that the embassy in Iran has been overrun.

JIMMY
(to aide) I'll be right out. (then to Rosalynn) Just as I feared. Decades of Republican presidents, coddling dictators, have created a tinderbox in the Middle East—a tinderbox of Islamic fundamentalism and violent anti-Americanism that can only end in disaster.

ROSALYNN
Oh, Jimmy.

JIMMY
You are my equal partner, Rosalynn.

ROSALYNN
I can't wait until we're building homes for the poor and you are recognized as a wonderful former president.

They embrace. Their lovemaking begins anew.

FADE OUT.

From "Kill 'Em All, Let God Sort 'Em Out: The George W. Bush Story"

SCENE 5:

INTERIOR—HOUSTON HOTEL ROOM—NIGHT
The Bush family and Condoleezza Rice are gathered around the television set, watching election returns.

GEORGE W.
How soon can we go to war?

BARBARA BUSH
Good Lord, W., the polls haven't even closed.

The family laughs.

GEORGE W.
C'mon, Mom! The fix is in! Jebbie's takin' care of things! Now, seriously, how many people can we kill?

CONDOLEEZZA RICE
Which people, Governor?

GEORGE W.
(chuckling to himself) 'Which people,' she says! (then loudly) Who cares?! I just need to kill some people! Don't you get it?! I love death!

FADE OUT.

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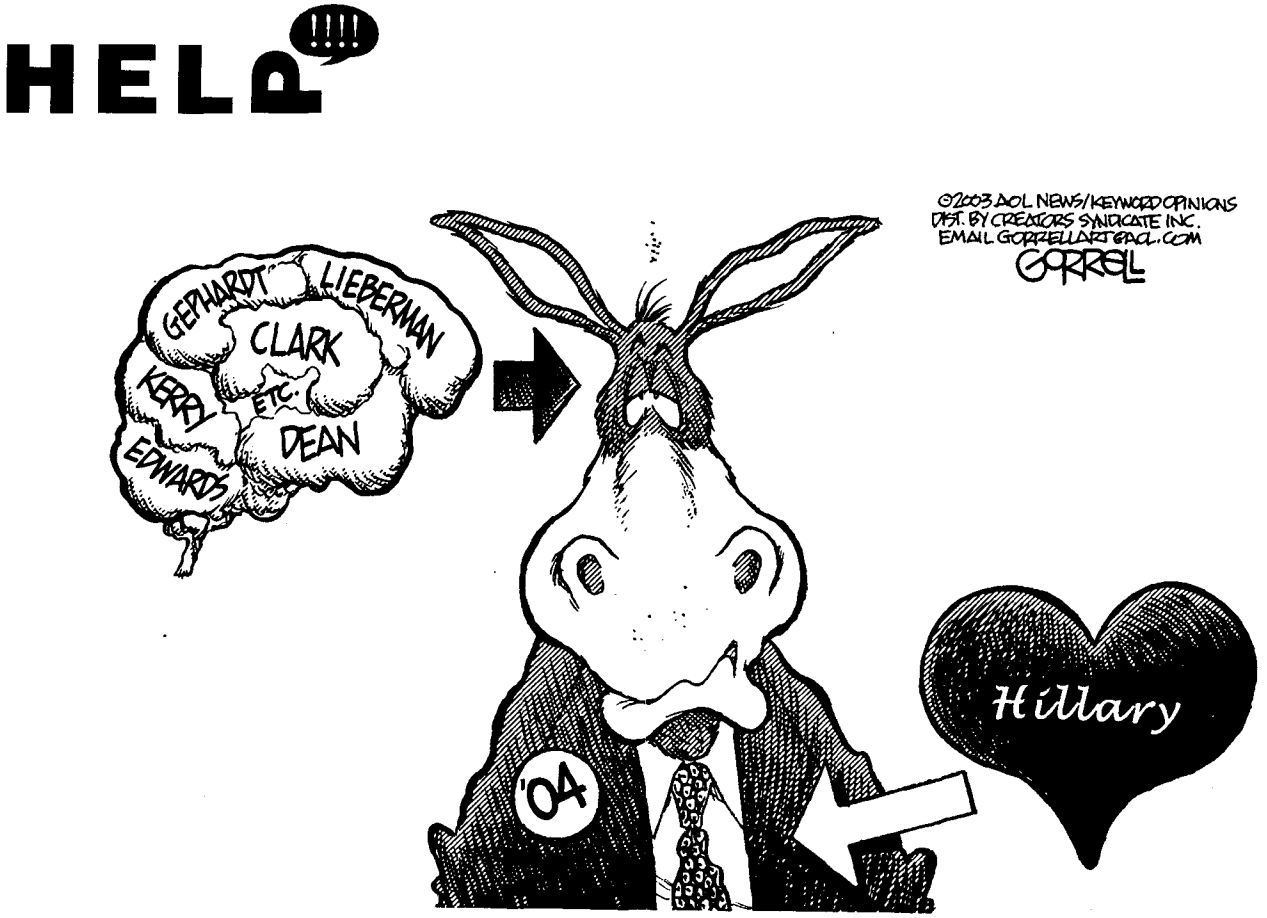

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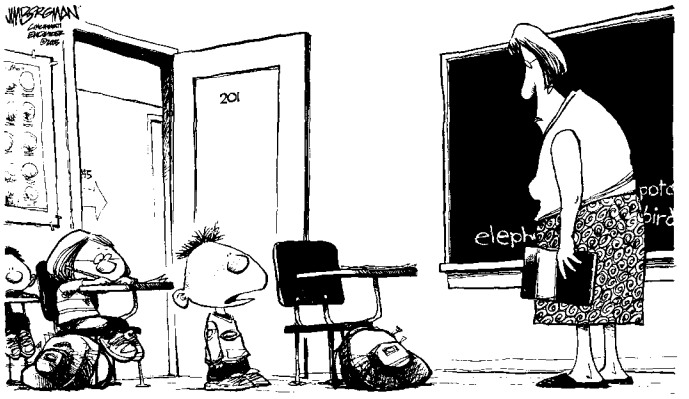
Betting on Bush

If Iraq goes, there goes the game.
As almost all the Dems take aim
(Biden excepted) or recoil
Like gourmets at a salad oil,
The president digs in his heels,
Assaulting all with fund appeals
And generally sounding like
An update of embattled Ike.

—W. H. von Dreele



"MY DOG ATE THE PALM PILOT THAT HAD THE URL OF THE WEBSITE MY HOMEWORK WAS POSTED ON."

"White-collar crime is on the increase."

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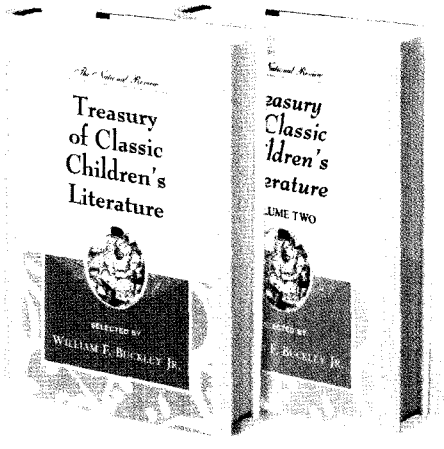

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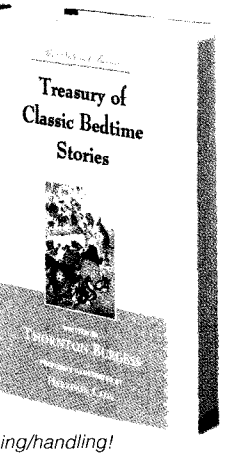

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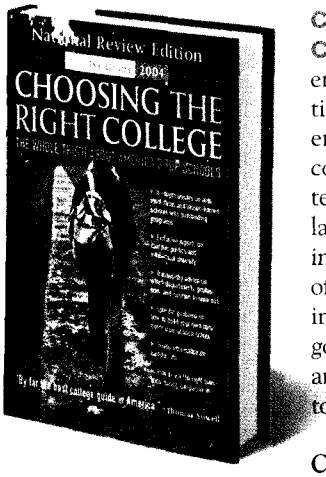

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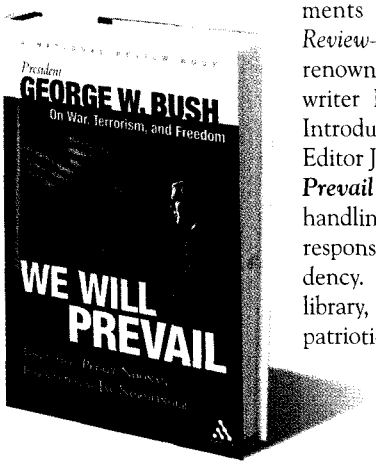

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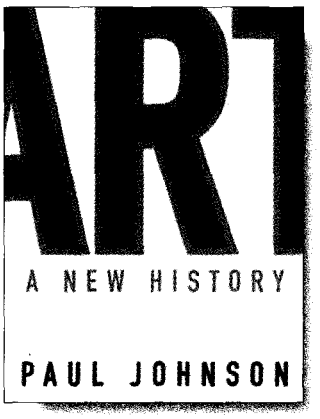
The Great Makers



Art: A New History,
by Paul Johnson
(HarperCollins, 792 pp., $39.95)

ROGER KIMBALL

EVERY sentient adult has his own favorite book by the English historian Paul Johnson. Some favor *Intellectuals* (1989), his devastating and often hilarious dissection of egghead hubris, pomposity, and malice. Others make a case for *Modern Times* (1983), or *A History of the American People* (1997). Until yesterday, my own favorite was *The Birth of the Modern* (1991), his thousand-page conspectus about "World Society 1815–1830." I am not quite ready to forswear my enthusiasm for that marvelous book, but I waver. The cause of my vacillation is Johnson's latest book, *Art: A New History*, an 800-pager that takes readers from the cave paintings of Lascaux up through the latest inanities of the post-post-post trendissimus stuff you see at your local avant-garde art emporium. Along the way readers are treated to guided tours of everything from the art of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, through the achievements of medieval Europe, the Italian Renaissance, the influence of Asian art, and the triumphs of Dutch masters and English watercolorists, to the explosion of art -isms in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Mr. Kimball is managing editor of *The New Criterion*.

I confess that I approached this book with some trepidation. That Johnson is a man of encyclopedic learning I knew; he has breathtaking range and velocity as a historian. I knew, too, that Johnson is an accomplished amateur watercolorist with a large appetite for art. The question was whether all these virtues would translate into an authoritative history of art.

The answer is yes. *Art* is an engrossing and invigorating book: a pleasure as well as an education. It is knowledgeable, yes, and also idiosyncratic. But what is perhaps most engrossing about the book is its passion. Johnson sees that art in its highest sense is more than a pastime. Deeply connected to "the ordering instinct that makes society possible," art is and always has been "essential to human happiness." Johnson's book *The Quest for God* (1996) is subtitled "A Personal Pilgrimage," but *Art* is in many ways his most personal publication. "I have," he writes, "put everything I know and deeply feel into this book." It shows on every page. What we have here is not a replacement for Janson's (or whoever's) *History of Art*, but a look inside the workshop of art by someone who has lived and labored there. Consider, for example, Johnson's explanation of Vermeer's artistry:

> He achieved verisimilitude in five distinct ways. First by a highly sophisticated use of perspective, including bending, which puts everything firmly and exactly in space. No one has ever reduced three dimensions to two more securely. Second, he dissolved contours and eliminated any sense of line completely, an ultra-advanced use of Leonardo's sfumato [shading]. Third, he made cunning use of alternating areas of dense impasto and thin glazes, so that objects were distinguished not merely by light, colours, and shapes, but by surface. Fourth, he constantly used slight but telling distortions of shape and light to reinforce the illusion. This is why his paintings never look like photographs, and attempts to produce "photographic Vermeers" have failed completely. . . . [Fifth,] Vermeer, however much cash he had or did not have, always used the highest quality pigments then available. . . . This shows sense and is one reason his works have survived so well.

This is writing from the inside, from someone who has a "hand" as well as an eye for art.

History is Johnson's profession. Art is his vocation. Johnson's father was an artist, the head of an art school. He admitted that his son drew well, but warned him off a career in art. "I can see bad times coming for art," he said. "Frauds like Picasso will rule the roost for the next half-century. Do something else for a living."

Ah, Picasso. Fraud? Genius? A bit of both? Readers will recall that there was a period when Evelyn Waugh ended his letters with the cheery valedictory, "Death to Picasso!" Johnson comes from a kindred school, as the title of his 1996 collection, *To Hell with Picasso & Other Essays*, reminds us. In *Art*, Picasso emerges as an archetype of what Johnson calls "fashion art, as opposed to fine art"—that is, art as a species of hucksterism.

Johnson's view of Picasso (who died, he tells us, "the richest artist in history") is one of the things that have furrowed the brows of critics. But it is worth noting that while he is hostile to Picasso, he is not cavalier. Picasso, he acknowledges, raises unique problems in the history of art, so "it is important that everyone should make up [his] own mind about him." Johnson's rejection of Picasso has less to do with Picasso's deplorable character—he was, quite simply, a swine—than with Picasso's attitude toward his own art. What he objects to is not so much Picasso's exploitation of people as his exploitation of his talent to gratify the demands of his ego (and that reliable appendage of ego, the pocketbook). If Johnson is right, Picasso helped to license the attitude that Andy Warhol summed up when he said that "art is what you can get away with"—the attitude, alas, that prevails in many of the most respected quarters of the art world today.

This is a frankly revisionist book. In the most general terms, *Art* lets some air out of the French School—especially of the so-called Impressionists and Post-Impressionists—while boosting the stock

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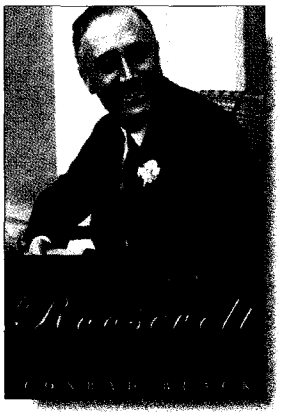
of the English tradition. Few readers will agree with all of Johnson's judgments—some of which, I suspect, were calculated to surprise or irritate. Many readers will be taken aback to see Delacroix's frescos at Saint-Sulpice described as "deplorable daubs," or find Courbet grudgingly acknowledged as "a major, potentially great painter" who was also "sometimes totally unsuccessful, often crude, unbiddable . . . and stupid." Some of Johnson's enthusiasms—for Grant Wood, for example, or Andrew Wyeth ("the only narrative artist of genius during the second half of the twentieth century")—will also raise many an eyebrow.

But agreement about particular artists is a minor matter. (And besides, I happen to agree with Johnson nine times out of ten.) The power of this book transcends questions of agreement. It lies partly in Johnson's gifts as a narrative historian: Few writers have his ability to make the texture of human reality snap into focus. Among other things, he is a master of the revelatory epithet, the illuminating anecdote. For example, that Constable and Turner were unfriendly rivals is well known. But Johnson recounts that one Varnishing Day—the day before an exhibition on which a painter may apply finishing touches to his work—Constable's *Opening of Waterloo Bridge* was hanging next to Turner's somber gray *Helvoetsluys*. Constable stopped by to heighten his picture with vermilion and a crimson lake. Then Turner came in and—in the words of Constable's biographer, C. R. Leslie—"putting a round dab of red lead, somewhat bigger than a shilling, on his gray sea, went away without saying a word. The intensity of the red lead, made more vivid by the coolness of his picture, caused even the vermilion and lake of Constable to look weak." Constable remarked bitterly: "Turner has been here and fired a gun."

Art is a book to which readers will frequently return. It was conceived in joy and is a joy to read. Reflecting on the amazing achievement of Bernini, Johnson writes that "he believed that God had endowed him with unusual gifts and that, in return, he must make exemplary use of them to glorify his Maker and to make the world share his faith. No artist in history ever worked harder and longer." Something similar could be said about Paul Johnson. **NR**

A Flawed Colossus



Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom, by Conrad Black (PublicAffairs, 1,280 pp., $39.95)

FORREST McDONALD

WHAT historians do is make generalizations. They study and take notes from the relevant documents and secondary literature. As they ingest the data, they digest them and reduce them to general propositions. When they sit down to write they select and report only that which makes cogent the story they are telling or the analysis they are offering. Two other kinds of folks who study the past go about their tasks differently. Antiquarians delight in learning details for their own sake and are likely to report them accurately and fully, if somewhat randomly. Authors of academic history characteristically record their research on note cards, arrange them in chronological order, and write by turning the cards over one by one. The results in either case are well-nigh unreadable.

Conrad Black's unconscionably long biography of Franklin Roosevelt shares almost none of the characteristics of genuine history and falls halfway between the work of antiquarians and academicians. Like them, he includes every detail, however irrelevant, though he is not always accurate and sometimes arranges his note cards out of sequence.

Consider some examples of irrelevance. Black devotes five paragraphs to Dean Acheson's reappointment to a minor State Department position and informs us that "Acheson was sworn in by Justice Brandeis in the presence of Frankfurter, Attorney General Biddle, and the congressional librarian, Archibald MacLeish, at Brandeis's home." Does one really need to know that in order to understand the life of Franklin Roosevelt? Again, when Winston Churchill comes to America for his first meeting with Roosevelt after Pearl Harbor, we are told the names and positions of everyone in his entourage, though none is mentioned in the further account of the discussions. In the middle of a long narrative of the proceedings at the Yalta Conference, we are subjected to a paragraph telling us that at one point Stalin went to the men's room for two minutes, disconcerting his NKVD guards who did not know where he had gone. As for details out of sequence, we are told of Mussolini's rescue by Germans pages before we are told that Americans captured him.

A few of the extraneous details, to be sure, are entertaining. Roosevelt's strange relationship with Eleanor affords examples. When he first ran for governor of New York she told a reporter, "I am not excited about my husband's election. I don't care." In early 1933, when told of an apparent assassination attempt on Roosevelt, Eleanor nonchalantly noted, "These things will happen." At another point, interrupting a conversation about tax reform, she interjected ideas that Roosevelt and his guest regarded as absurd; Franklin said, "Oh Eleanor, shut up! You never understand these things anyway." Soon after Pearl Harbor she suggested that American planes "should be filled with hornets, wasps, and bees and emptied near enemy lines to torment German and Japanese soldiers." Those of us who already have a store of anti-Eleanor gossip need not endure a thousand pages to get more.

In addition to the burdensome detail, Black repeats himself. Steve Early is mentioned as Roosevelt's press secretary

Mr. McDonald is Distinguished University Research Professor Emeritus at the University of Alabama.

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15 or 20 times before Black finally decides that we know who he was. Mike Reilly is identified as Roosevelt's "security chief" every time he appears. At least half a dozen times we are informed that FDR and Churchill met in 1919, that Roosevelt had unpleasant memories of the encounter, and that Churchill did not remember it at all. On back-to-back pages we are told that Operation Gymnast was the code name for the invasion of North Africa. Frequently we are reminded that Margaret Suckley took care of Roosevelt's Scottie dog Fala. When Black describes naval artillery as 16-inch or 14-inch, he always throws in parenthetically that the inches refer to barrel diameter.

The book teems with errors, small and large. I shall restrain myself and cite but a few. FDR did not learn of the collapse of the Insull utility companies in April 1932, since the collapse came in May. General Electric was by no means "essentially an appliance manufacturer." Harry Hopkins did not pay "the minimum wage" to Civil Works Administration employees in 1934, for the minimum wage had not yet been enacted. Dred Scott was not a "fugitive slave." Supreme Court justices were not originally required "to ride around the district." The Articles of Confederation did not govern "the newly independent colonies . . . from 1783 to 1788 while the Constitution of the United States was being prepared." Kansas was admitted to statehood in 1861, not 1852. The G.I. Bill of Rights was not "entirely his [FDR's] original conception."

On occasion Black misinforms the reader but corrects the error with a later turn of his note cards, without noticing the original mistake. He tells us that Russia clobbered Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, but later he has Stalin trying to recover the territories it lost in that conflict. He misidentifies Treasury secretary William Woodin as a "diminutive banker"; later, he properly identifies Woodin as a (still diminutive) "head of American Car and Foundry."

In addition to errors of commission, Black makes errors of omission. He does not mention the 1938 New Economic Policy of antitrust enforcement under Thurman Arnold (a policy abruptly dropped when Roosevelt realized that the wicked trusts were necessary to the war effort). He fails to mention the pivotal Curtiss-Wright Export case, in which the Supreme Court held that executive agreements have the force of treaties, having previously ruled that treaties can supersede the Constitution. In his long account of Russia's war with the Nazis he omits Russia's "scorched earth" policy.

The worst thing about this book, however, is Black's judgment that Roosevelt was not only the greatest president ever but the greatest man in the world during the 20th century. Granted, Black reports unfavorable things about his hero: FDR comes across as devious, cruel, and a pathological liar (Black claims that as Roosevelt matured and had real accomplishments to brag about, he outgrew his penchant for embellishing, but as late as 1944 FDR claimed to have discovered Enrico Caruso in 1904—pure fiction). Yet Black stills paints FDR as The Hero.

Black bases his judgment on several propositions. The first great achievement, Black tells us, was leading the nation out of the Depression and thus averting a revolution. But in 1937, after four years of the New Deal, the economy was as bad as it had been in 1933; in reality, production for war was what ended the Depression. Roosevelt gave almost everyone, in private conferences and over the radio, the impression that he understood the causes of the Depression and knew the remedies; in reality he was an economic illiterate. He dismissed as partisan nonsense Herbert Hoover's accurate claim that the Depression was caused by international forces. John Maynard Keynes, who admired Roosevelt until he met him, was appalled to learn the depth of his ignorance of economics.

Another reason for Black's judgment is FDR's role in shaping the course of the war and postwar settlements. The author takes great pains to prove that FDR did not naïvely sell out eastern Europe to the Soviets at the Yalta Conference. Black concedes that in 1942 Roosevelt smugly wrote Churchill that "I can personally handle Stalin better than either your Foreign Office or my State Department," and that he was confident that Stalin would become democratic and capitalistic after the war. But, Black insists, Stalin had his troops in eastern Europe at war's end, and the Yalta agreements really made no difference. What Black fails to understand is that Churchill's plan to invade Germany through the Balkans, which Roosevelt regarded as foolish, would have cut the Russians off from Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Had Roosevelt listened to Churchill, there would have been no Iron Curtain.

Roosevelt blew it. So did Conrad Black. **NR**

HOPE

In winter the crescent moon vanishes
So quickly in the blue, down the horizon,
Between the starry darkness and morning,

Like the hull of a ship without rigging
That I was meaning to load with wishes,
O not for me, my dear, wishes for you,

And you and you, my friends, all of us,
Such cargo as could only ride upon
The silver shell of that hallowed galleon.

I daydreamed, got bewildered by my muse,
Sun on the lace of frost, and fading Venus.
I looked up, and the reckless moon had gone.

—DANIEL MARK EPSTEIN

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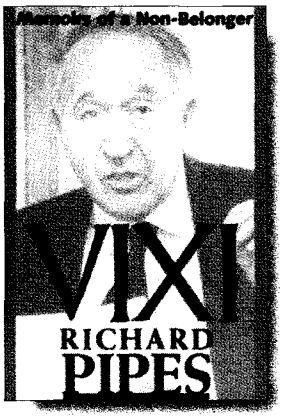
Yes, He Has Lived



Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger, by Richard Pipes (Yale, 264 pp., $30)

JAY NORDLINGER

For half a century, Richard Pipes has been one of the world's foremost scholars of Russia, and a man of political and policy influence as well: In the 1970s, he headed "Team B," the group directed to challenge the CIA's assumptions about the Soviet Union (which were wrong). And in the early 1980s, he served on the National Security Council staff of President Reagan. From the time of his birth in Cieszyn, Poland, to now, when he has assumed emeritus status at Harvard, Pipes has lived a rich, meaningful life. Fortunately, he has the ability to recount it, richly and meaningfully.

He calls his memoirs *Vixi*, which is Latin for "I have lived." In his preface, Pipes says, "It may sound strange coming from a professional historian, but I have always had trouble dealing with the past"—meaning his own past. It is of a piece with the author's character that he overcame any such trouble. When the Nazis and Soviets signed their pact, sealing Poland's doom, Pipes had just turned 16. He and his parents would get out—barely—but "much of my family and nearly all my school friends . . . perished without a trace in the Holocaust." One of the reasons for writing this book was that "their memory not be entirely lost."

Pipes's account of the weeks between September 1, when the Nazis began to bomb Warsaw, and late October, when the family escaped, is gripping. (The Pipeses had moved to the capital when the author was four.) These pages are even cinematic, if that is not too cheap or insulting a word. Pipes includes items large and small—the radio kept playing Chopin's "Military" Polonaise, "to keep our spirits up." He quotes from his own diary of the time (powerfully written, and perceived): "Houses collapsed, burying thousands of people or else spreading fire along the streets. Mobs of nearly crazed people, carrying children and bundles, ran along streets that were covered with rubble. German pilots, the worst beasts in the world, deliberately flew low to rake the streets with machine-gun fire."

On October 1, the Germans arrived by truck, and "I noticed with surprise that the soldiers were not the blond supermen of Nazi propaganda: many were short and swarthy and quite unheroic in appearance." Five days later, young Pipes watched Hitler—come to take a victory lap—from a fourth-floor window: "He rode in an open Mercedes, standing up in the familiar pose, giving the Nazi salute. I thought how easy it would be to assassinate him."

Pipes learned indelibly the lesson of appeasement, which he would apply over and over again, not least to the Soviet Union. His hatred of tyranny, lies, and accommodation is almost physical. He also saw, in those horrible weeks, "how quickly the everyday overwhelms the 'historic'"—Polish life returned to something like normal "with surprising rapidity." This experience left Pipes with "the abiding conviction that the population at large plays only a marginal role in history, or at any rate in political and military history, which is the preserve of small elites: people do not make history—they make a living."

In time, the family reached America, and Pipes began a life bursting with opportunity, for so talented and determined a person. In one of the most arresting passages of his book, he writes:

> The main effect of the Holocaust on my psyche was to make me delight in every day of life that has been granted to me, for I was saved from certain death. I felt and feel to this day that I have been spared not to waste my life on self-indulgence or self-aggrandizement but to spread a moral message by showing, using examples from history, how evil ideas lead to evil consequences. Since scholars have written enough on the Holocaust, I thought it my mission to demonstrate this truth using the example of communism. Furthermore, I felt and feel that to defy Hitler, I have a duty to lead a full and happy life . . .

In addition, "I admit to having little patience with the psychological problems of free people, especially if they involve a 'search for identity' or some other form of self-seeking." Pipes is a hard nut, but his hardness—if it is that—is well earned.

An eager immigrant, Pipes went off to wholesome Muskingum College in Ohio, and then into the Army—where he did a lot of reading (among other things). From boyhood, Pipes read like a demon. In fact, one of the pleasures of this book is that the author records his intellectual development, through books, chiefly, but also through art and music. In the Army, he was assigned to learn Russian, and he learned it at Cornell—from which he was eventually graduated. Then it was on to Harvard, where he earned his doctoral degree, and where he would soon gain tenure. "When it was granted to me," he writes, "I gained lasting happiness." This is the voice of a natural-born scholar speaking.

Pipes tells any number of charming, or tart, academic anecdotes. He also makes clear the extreme cowardice and vanity of the modern faculty (and administration). Along the way, he draws sketch after sketch of famous personages: Isaiah Berlin, George Kennan, Richard Nixon. The sketch of Berlin is priceless, describing in a cinching way what I have sometimes called Isaiah Berlin Syndrome (knowing what is right but refusing to stick your neck out, or to open your mouth). Perhaps the saddest thing about Pipes's book is one of the saddest things about his career: the enmity that exists between him and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. They say jarringly harsh things about each other. For years, they were about the only two anti-Communists east of the Hudson River: and to be at war. It is like a cruel joke of history. What divides them is the question of whether Soviet

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Communism has its roots in Russia generally. Pipes says yes; Solzhenitsyn says it is an insult to Russians, and unsupported by facts or logic. Admirers of them both can only wince.

In Washington, Pipes made waves, disturbing the CIA, the State Department, the détenteniks at large. We revisit the claims of Sovietology, and we remember just how bad they were, those Sovietologists. How can they stand to re-read what they wrote? Maybe they avoid it—Pipes does not.

Pipes made waves in the Reagan White House as well, up against what might be called the "peace camp," headed by Nancy Reagan and Michael Deaver. The author draws some more of his sketches—of Alexander Haig, Richard Allen, Henry Kissinger. Not all of these portraits are fond, to put it mildly. And he is especially interesting on the president himself: "[Reagan] possessed to a high degree the imponderable quality of political judgment. He instinctively understood, as all great statesmen do, what matters and what does not, what is right and what wrong for his country. This quality cannot be taught: like perfect pitch, one is born with it." Yet Reagan "was altogether incapable of thinking abstractly: his mind worked either emotionally or in reaction to individuals whom he could visualize." Even those who disagree with Pipes should have to ponder his arguments.

In whatever he has done, he has attracted controversy. Why? Pipes himself quotes Samuel Butler, who explained in a letter: "I never write on any subject unless I believe the opinion of those who have the ear of the public to be mistaken, and this involves, as a necessary consequence, that every book I write runs counter to the men who are in possession of the field; hence I am always in hot water . . ."

It is stirring to be in the company of this mind—Pipes's, not Butler's—for 250 pages. They are filled with immense learning and insight. They are leavened, too, by humor and idiosyncratic asides. The story of his marriage to Irene, a tall and warm beauty, is touching. And I happen to find touching Pipes's notorious stubbornness—often a kind of righteous stubbornness. He tells a funny tale about having to visit the Soviet Embassy after Brezhnev died, and being asked to sign the condolence book. Trapped, he thought fast: and did sign his name, but completely illegibly.

And I have a story from my own experience, and NATIONAL REVIEW's. At the dawn of 2000, we published our "millennium issue," consisting of big-think pieces by big thinkers, including Pipes. In his essay, Pipes cited a book by Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (on ancient Near Eastern religion and society). He had the *g* in "gods" down—in the lower case—but, as it was in the title, I, of course, as editor, put it up. He insisted on its being put back down. "I am a Jew," he said, "and there is one God, and I will not have the plural word capitalized." "But Professor Pipes," I pleaded, "I am as monotheistic as anyone, but this is a matter of style, and to have the word up doesn't imply any idolatry: It's just a word in a title, like 'table' or 'chair.'" No, no, said Pipes, it could not be up, title or not.

So, that's how it appeared in the magazine: *Kings and gods*. It looked weird, and wrong (because it was weird, and wrong)—but, in the Pipesian world, it was really wonderful, and right. **NR**

LEGACY

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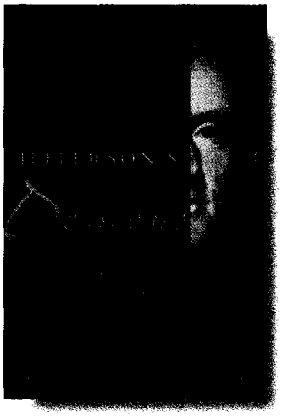
Founding Enigma



Jefferson's Demons: Portrait of a Restless Mind, by Michael Knox Beran (Free Press, 265 pp., $25)

SARAH A. BRAMWELL

In Thomas Jefferson, there is at once something and nothing for everyone. Conservatives share his fondness for a republic of yeoman farmers, but recoil at his contempt for religion and unseemly appetite for revolution, both born of an often doctrinaire Enlightenment rationalism. Liberals, who stand to find the most in Jefferson, nonetheless grimace at his belief in limited government, to say nothing of his hypocrisy (the seal of the vices, in their estimation). Michael Knox Beran all but ignores these easy oppositions in *Jefferson's Demons*—and grasps, instead, the genuine philosophical complexity of his subject.

We all know the Jefferson of "The Jefferson Bible": the cheerful empiricist, the sworn enemy of "every form of tyranny over the mind of man." Beran endeavors in this book to show a different Jefferson: the one who, almost in spite of himself, would harness the *un*-enlightened and *un*-rational to develop his enlightened, rationalist project.

Beran begins by identifying two human types, the "Whig" and the "Tory." Broadly speaking, the Whig stands for modernity and the Tory for pre-modernity. "In the Whig view," Beran writes, "people must take their politics, and even their religion

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and their private morality, much as they take their other household goods—by going to the marketplace and seeing what is on sale and at what price." The Tory, on the other hand, "pursues always his ideal of a society in which man's different endeavors—the long extent of his works and loves—can be made to form a coherent whole. [He] is an exile . . . from the delicious intimacies of old Christendom."

In Beran's view, these two spirits—Whig and Tory—are alive in all of us who inhabit the modern world, but most especially in Jefferson. The Whig embodies the self-made man: the skeptic, the self-sufficient individualist. To him, the ties of family and inherited authority are so many fetters from which man must be delivered. The Tory, by contrast, recognizes obligations—to family, church, God, country—that he himself does not choose. He remains attached to these loyalties, taking comfort in what he has not himself created, and resists the modern Whig world, in which, amid an "infinity of choice" and a "superabundance of creeds . . . the modern man must find his way."

Jefferson's Demons explains how Jefferson found his way. We witness his "muddy stretches," the intervals when he dwelt in darkness and shadows, distant in spirit and time from the radiance of 1776. It is in these darker episodes that Beran finds evidence for the central insight of this book: that, when Jefferson seemed paradoxical and conflicted, it was because his Whiggery could not express his most deeply felt ideals.

Beran explains, "It is a paradox of the Whig system that it cannot be built without a resort to the very materials it is supposed to render obsolete." In order to achieve his high Enlightenment aspirations, Jefferson would need to find a language more fertile than the lean idiom of rationalism—he would have to tap into the vast spiritual reservoir of the past: Greek myth, Protestant millennialism, Renaissance mysticism. "No more than other people," Beran writes, "could Jefferson live without those *un*-common trumpets, mystic and nonsensical, that bid a man rise from his moperies and act with an heroic creativity." Man cannot live on empiricism alone.

The mystical tuggings on Jefferson's brain were the ideas that he came across in his study of antiquity—and of the Protestant divines of his early years. When Jefferson wrote, for instance, that "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants," he was employing the imagery of ancient Greek fertility legends. At other times, he drew on what Beran calls the "poetry of Protestant salvation" to "reshape the mythology of the emerging American democracy." The vocabulary of the Puritans allowed Jefferson to speak of Americans as a chosen people, the light of the ages that would carry forward the rights of man. In a splendid discussion of Jefferson's 1801 inaugural address, Beran explores the speech's intellectual inspirations, among which was the Old Testament: "[America] was a second Israel, only more spacious, 'with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation.' The president had seized from the Ephraimites their own high poetry and had annexed it to the cause of the emergent American nation-state."

'[Jefferson's] enlightened theories were unable to account for the feelings which [his] losses provoked in him.'

Beran also demonstrates how the Enlightened Jefferson, who once asserted that the "earth belongs in usufruct to the living," the dead having "neither powers nor rights over it," was forced by personal tragedies to entertain a deep reverence for the departed. He buried five of his six children, his wife, and his favorite sister. Beran comments: "[Jefferson's] enlightened theories were unable to account for the feelings which these losses provoked in him. They did not even give him an adequate means of acknowledging the incomprehensibility of the horror." The ordered world of Deism, with its clockmaker God, could not explain the enormous fact of the human mind, with its joys and sufferings, its strivings and failings.

Readers of NATIONAL REVIEW are familiar with Beran's magniloquent prose. *Jefferson's Demons* brims with metaphor. This finery allows Beran to compass the intangible nature of his subject. At times, however, the reader wishes for a more concrete style, one that would help ground the enigmatic Jefferson. But perhaps Beran, who describes Jefferson's genius as "essentially poetic," could find no more apt way to discuss the author of the Declaration—a national poem, if such a thing exists—than through poetry itself.

Beran's style does allow him to make devastating assessments of Jefferson without seeming mean-spirited, as when he writes that the Jefferson presidency was "a triumph of style over substance. The president might have acted like a radical at the dinner table, but in his policy he was content merely to arrange the flowers." His governance was—despite the darkest fears of the Federalists—"cautious even to timidity." This description appears harsh, but it actually betokens Beran's admiration for Jefferson. During the hard-fought 1800 election, Jefferson promised that he would pursue a restrained, not a revolutionary, policy. He kept that promise. According to Beran, it was Jefferson's sincere Whiggishness—his belief in free thought and choice—that kept him from giving in to the visionary's temptation to impose progress on others. Though he admired the French Revolution—even as it turned foul—he could never import it to our shores. Beran writes: "When [Jefferson] reflected 'how difficult it is to move or inflect the great machine of society' and 'how impossible to advance the notions of a whole people suddenly to ideal right,' he became convinced, he said, of 'the wisdom of Solon's remark, that no more good must be attempted than the nation can bear.'"

These are wise words. We are indebted to Beran for his balanced and imaginative portrayal of a man who, despite baring the intricacies of his life and mind in over 18,000 letters, remains an enigma. **NR**

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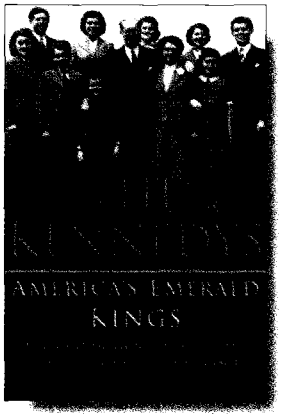

The Kennedys: America's Emerald Kings, by Thomas Maier
(Basic, 676 pp., $29.95)

GEORGE W. RUTLER

THE author, a biographer of Dr. Spock, describes the Irish Catholicism of five generations of Kennedys, whose influence on American religion paralleled Spock's influence on American children. Maier had full access to the Joseph P. Kennedy papers, and his book is fascinating, if neither novel nor edifying, in linking the "emerald thread" of ethnic and religious attitudes to various political matters. For the first time, an author was granted use of private photographs, among them "swims along the Cape" and "kissing the Blarney Stone," both of which activities would be engaged in by the Kennedys in later life, with varying results.

This book could have been good at half the length, but, like Madame Recamier, Maier does not seem to have had the time to write something shorter. Six hundred pages allow for a lot of compelling, if sometimes speculative, material along with redundancy and misinformation. A history as dramatic and important as that of Ireland deserves more freedom from cliché; also, the historian should know the difference between Plantagenets and Tudors, and not be under the impression that Oliver Cromwell lived during the reign of Charles II.

A long and volatile tradition of oppression and opportunity informed the confrontation between Boston Brahmins and immigrants. The old story renews itself through different faces and races in every cycle of the American experience, but Maier incants the word "bigotry" so often that he tempts the most sympathetic reader to respond as Oscar Wilde did to the death of Little Nell. Principals in the Kennedy history carry ethnic grudges to the level of an Olympic sport, and were whining a form of architecture, these chapters would be Perpendicular Gothic. Joseph Kennedy, for example, could not understand the resentment of the duke of Devonshire, whose uncle was cut to pieces in Phoenix Park. On a pilgrimage to the spot, John F. Fitzgerald taught his daughter Rose to revere the assassins as martyrs. Later, like Bill Clinton remembering the burning of black churches in his Arkansas childhood, Robert Kennedy would describe his father fleeing a Boston placarded with "No Irish Need Apply" signs. Maier admits that Joe fled on a private railway car. He is unaware of Richard Jensen's study in the *Journal of Social History* proving that such signs were mostly a legend with legs.

Correspondence records a lot of dealing with the Vatican, but this reviewer knew Count Galeazzi and doubts that the alleged "eminence grise" of the pope was the pawn of the "Emerald Kings" who had trouble pronouncing his name. In Boston, the Kennedys and the clergy made unlovely music playing each other like pianos. Current distress in that archdiocese may be traced in part to defective spiritual chromosomes in Joe Kennedy and Cardinal O'Connell. A generation later, an obsequious Cardinal Cushing greased the slide from the solid piety of the work-worn 19th-century Patrick Kennedy to a latter-day "I never worked a (!!**!#!) day in my life" Patrick Kennedy accusing the pope of bigotry. Maier's frail theology incorrectly assesses John F. Kennedy's sell-out of his ancestral Faith to the Protestant ministers in Texas. Fast forward, and now we have Edward Kennedy subjecting Catholic judicial nominees to religious tests. Joseph Kennedy Jr. emerges as a figure of probity and integrity; heroic death in World War II cut off a life that just possibly might not have suffered the dissolution of some of his siblings.

Joseph Sr., like Lord Melbourne, decided that things come to a sorry pass when religion interferes with the practice of one's private life. His wife's accommodation of his ways was longsuffering but hardly heroic. Rose's favorite Scripture text, Luke 12:48, provides a theme for the book, and Maier cites it often, even prefacing a chapter with it—unaware that Rose consistently misquoted the verse, in her evident disdain for prepositions. Maier also fails to realize that Shaw's line about seeing things that are not, which both Robert and Edward made into a heroic mantra, was actually the illusory temptation of the Devil in *Back to Methuselah*. Jacqueline's reputation as an editor is harmed by Maier's unwise use of her poem about the president: "The lilt of that green land danced in his blood / Tara, Killarney, a magical flood / That surged in the depth of his too proud heart / And spiked the punch of New England so tart."

The decay of the Kennedy dynasty now is marked not so much by the hypocrisy of more colorful earlier generations, whose vice paid tribute to virtue, as by a dull humbug whose virtue pays tribute to vice. P. J. Kennedy dancing on tables and Honey Fitz singing "Sweet Adeline" are more splendid figures in their corruption than Kathleen Kennedy Townsend delivering confused animadversions on Galileo. Maier's "emerald thread" breaks before the end of the book in "puzzlement" and "surprise" when he cannot reconcile his wistful reveries with the coruscating anti-Semitism and manic priapism that disfigured "America's Emerald Kings." Unresolved tensions are symbolized by high-kitsch images, like little Teddy Kennedy bouncing on the knee of the future Pius XII. It is reminiscent of Shirley Temple on the knee of Abraham Lincoln in *The Littlest Rebel*, but it is sadder because Cardinal Pacelli tells Teddy at his first communion always to be a good boy. Maier has described a saga realistically enough for the reader to want to take a shower after watching Joe Kennedy plotting with Cardinal O'Connell, and other such deep darknesses. **NR**

Fr. Rutler is a Catholic priest in Manhattan.

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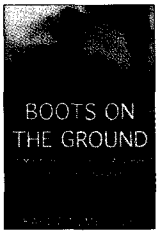
■ SHELF LIFE ■

The Freedom Forces

MICHAEL POTEMRA

In *Boots on the Ground: A Month with the 82nd Airborne in the Battle for Iraq* (St. Martin's Press, 213 pp., $24.95), Karl Zinsmeister gives us a thrilling firsthand account of the liberation of Iraq. This book, in and of itself, justifies the Pentagon's experiment with the "embedding" of reporters with combat troops. What makes Zinsmeister's writing so effective is that he doesn't allow himself to get mired in dry "we-took-the-hill-then-they-took-the-hill" military descriptions; he is always attentive to the human element in military operations. This is especially helpful to an understanding of the purpose and conduct of the Iraq war, because both have their roots in the character of the American citizen army.

The American soldier shows himself—yet again—not as a swaggering *Miles Gloriosus* but rather as the amiable next-door neighbor who shows himself capable of sacrifice and bravery when a cause is just. One of Zinsmeister's chapter titles refers to "the sacred profanity of war," and this captures the greatness of the ordinary person who does extraordinary things in our country's uniform. He captures, too, the speech of the troops. One soldier says his comrades are as "loose as a scrotum in an August overall." Another razzes his buddy: "I thought you was trying to kill that one prisoner, in direct violation of the Geneva Convention, when you gave him that fudge brownie without any water to drink." "Yeah," the buddy responds, "those things are tough as woodpecker lips." Zinsmeister also quotes an Army paratrooper, who writes nobly and movingly about the Iraqi people: "Once Saddam was out of power the Iraqis threw down their weapons and changed into civilian clothes and joined the cheering crowds. These people have known nothing but oppression, tyranny, and (because of Saddam's greed) poverty. . . . And though they worship God differently, they are faithful. We should not judge the people as a whole because of a few extremists. A true Muslim is as good as a devout Christian."



Listen to these soldiers: Theirs is not the language of mercenaries advancing the interests of a self-seeking hegemon. It is, rather, the language of good men, doing a good thing.

■ Saddam Hussein was not, of course, the only tyrant desperately in need of removal. In *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil: How to Oust the World's Last Dictators by 2025* (Rowman & Littlefield, 348 pp., $27.95), Mark Palmer draws up a strategy for getting rid of the others. Formerly U.S. ambassador to Hungary and chief speechwriter for Henry Kissinger, now vice chairman of Freedom House, Palmer has written a wonderful book—a moral and intellectual tour de force.

Tyrants who care nothing for the well-being of their own people are natural allies of one another—and can be counted on to oppose America, the superpower that stands for everything they hate. Palmer points out that the trend has been in our direction: "In 1972, there were only 43 Free countries in the world; as of 2002 there were 89; together with the Partly Free countries they make up three-quarters of all nations." Furthermore, "in 2002, the total gross domestic product of the Free countries stood at $26.8 trillion, as against only $1.7 trillion for the Not Free countries." Trend, of course, is not destiny, so we need to stay on the offensive against the last dictators—the "45 men [who] are preventing more than two billion people from achieving their real potential."

Again, America must take the lead. Palmer writes that "there is no substitute for American diplomatic and political leadership in building coalitions of the willing to help citizens successfully confront their dictators." It's sadly ironic that the loudest voices for so-called international law today are basically favoring order (the supposed rights of dictators who happen to hold power) over morality (the actual rights of individual human beings). We need to foster a climate of international law in which justice actually takes precedence; perhaps it is precisely because President Bush envisions such a development that his administration has been so slow to give up on the U.N. But whether we use the existing U.N., or create an entirely new system, America's duty is clear: rid the world of dictators, for the sake of their peoples and in the interest of our own national security.

■ Rachel Ehrenfeld has done valuable investigative work on terrorism for various journals, including this one; she has now come forward with a book-length study that repays attention. *Funding Evil: How Terrorism Is Financed—And How to Stop It* (Bonus, 267 pp., $24.95) describes the complex interconnections of terrorist groups and international crime organizations. Much of the dirty money comes from drug trafficking—which suggests, to me at least, that we could strike a fierce blow against the terrorists by legalizing drugs, and thus removing the artificial price support that is helping to fund the terrorists' war against America. The druglords are not the only culprits; Ehrenfeld also details the financial backing given terrorists by, among others, the Saudis and the Palestinian government. As former CIA director James Woolsey writes in his foreword: "Rachel Ehrenfeld has done all serious students of [terrorism] a great service—by following the money."

■ We at NR miss Florence King immensely—but I'm delighted to report that she has just published a massive, hilarious anthology. *STET, Damnit! The Misanthrope's Corner 1991 to 2002* (National Review Books, 506 pp., $29.95) shows her as both accomplished joke-teller and joyous prose stylist. Do not, she insists, call her "erudite": "By American intellectual standards, you are considered erudite if you have read *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Ivanhoe for Young People*." Wit, she says, "is bound to be anathema in a nation where headline writers see nothing funny about 'HEARTS GO OUT TO BRAINLESS BABY'"; she defies that anathema, consistently, over these diverting pages. **NR**

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■ CITY DESK ■

Literature Night

RICHARD BROOKHISER

We are in a slot beneath a Greenwich Village restaurant. The walls are painted brick, close together as in a bad dream, widened only by rows of mirrors and by our faith that the red EXIT signs actually lead somewhere. At the head of the room is a velvet curtain, a stool, a mike, and a music stand. The cover charge is $6, which gets you a drink and two hours of poetry and fiction.

This is not the Village of Edna St. Vincent Millay, carefree and copulating, nor of Dawn Powell, anxious and copulating, nor yet the East Village of Allen Ginsberg, copulating. The writers who are reading tonight are professionals. They have to have day jobs, to be sure—no one below the pay grade of John Updike makes a living at literature—but they also take their avocation seriously, as do the fifty people in the audience who have braved the rain that pasted the sidewalks up at ground level with yellow leaves.

There are three writers on the bill. One is a young woman, a typical Trinidadian: She grew up in Queens and lives in Inwood. Another is a lawyer at a downtown investment bank, who wears a dark blue blazer, a striped tie, and a serious mien. The Nehru-shirted MC, who will also read, is perfect for his role, welcoming and enthusiastic. His colleagues, he assures us, will "beguile you with their work."

Reading in public has become an unusual activity, and it calls forth an unusual tone of voice. In the English-speaking world this voice is slightly slower than conversation; slightly rhythmic, if the piece to be read is poetry; slightly forced; and, it must be said, rather uniform and stolid. This voice has been universal since the twin advents of literary modernism and recording technology. I have heard several albums of the Caedmon label, which recorded every 20th-century poet you have heard of, and the bards all sounded essentially the same, even Dylan Thomas. The only standouts were Richard Eberhart, who talked like the geek who had come to fix your computer, and Marianne Moore, who talked like my late maiden aunts. My wife heard Andrei Voznesensky in his prime, and she says the Russian was more operatic. But though détente and the end of history have given us many Russians, we have not acquired their style. The virtue of the Anglo-American style is that it gets the job done. A clever speaker—minister, politician, motivator—can slip seamlessly from his opening jokes into his subject matter. But easy in, easy out. The mildly formal manner of authors chalks off a playing field, focuses the fans, and lets the game begin.

The young woman's short story fulfills one of the two main tasks of a writer, describing what you don't know. Its two characters were Queens residents, of a different race and twice her age, facing what we hope to avoid but probably won't, the consequences of decades of things unsaid. The host's poems fulfill the other writer's task, describing what you do know. They are bright with New York moments: a list of people who talk for a living—"bartenders, doorkeepers, beggars, teachers"; a woman in shorts on a haggard South Bronx street saying, "Beauty is what I live for."

But there is an elephant in the room, and unlike most such beasts, it is named. The host and especially the lawyer read a number of poems related to 9/11 and its aftermath. The host speaks of himself as living in the "last golden years of empire . . . ruled by men with eyes of lobsters." Well, well. We do not go to poets for strategy. Compared with the policy recommendations of Mayakovsky and Pound, disdaining those who protect you is a minor dereliction.

The lawyer bears down on his subject without polemics, tracing the stages of unforeseeing, reaction, and return. "Century's end," goes one laconic line, "was rather uneventful." What did jihadists know of Y2K? They use the Prophet's calendar. The day of the attack, he was working—temporarily, he thought—in Midtown. Spared, he asks himself: "Do your days seem different? Perhaps longer?" Of watching Bush on television in a commuter bar, he invokes, like the host, another catalogue of four: "bartenders, patrons, the homeless, the nation." Mordantly he encompasses the trauma with Wall Street lingo. "I'm short on Afghanistan, long on bonds. . . . Position yourselves."

In time, business resumes. "Now we are back, the usual suspects in the usual places. . . . Clerks bemoan the loss of Krispy Kreme." He asks the always unsettling question: "Why did you return to these crooked, storied streets?" (what do you do to earn the air you breathe?). But he believes in his work, and New York's: "Perhaps to fund a county or a country." Still we are all tired. On another television, in an airport lounge during a business trip, he watches clips of Gulf War II. "Imagine confronting the bristling dawn without the inane."

War poetry is a tough act. Wilfred Owen fought and died in the trenches, and wrote about them searingly. But when we think of his century's dislocation we turn first to "O o o o that Shakespeherian rag." You can be too close to torment to talk about it; nobody likes visiting hospitals. Maybe the last war poet was Homer, with his gods and guts. We humanize him by focusing on Hector's farewell to his wife and son, or Achilles' meeting with Priam, where a questioning and self-conscious attitude appears. But most of the poem is killing, beauty, and beautiful killing, God (not Zeus) help us.

The lawyer's longest poem was an elegy to Daniel Pearl. He invokes poetic predecessors, Milton, Shelley, and Auden. They rhymed, as if confident that they were writing for eternity. The lawyer (who does not rhyme) makes no such claim; today, he says, that burden rests on Pearl's colleagues: "Newspapers now embody the boldest use of language." Does that also include magazines? Suddenly I feel prodded. Thanks a lot. NR

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Easing Off on Iowa

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 21

Two spokesmen for the Democratic party in Iowa professed surprise, and threatened reprisal and death for the two candidates who announced that they were pulling out of the state caucus. Gen. Clark said that there was no way to catch up with the organization that other candidates had invested in beginning months earlier. Joe Lieberman's spokesmen put it this way: Why should Joe keep his 17 full-time vote recruiters in Iowa, where his poll standing wasn't all that encouraging? Why not send them to New Hampshire? "There is no victory in being fourth in Iowa."

Democratic chieftains in Iowa are dismayed. If you subtract two key candidates from their caucus, then all that you are left with is a popularity contest among those who show up. State Democratic chairman Gordon Fischer, scowling, held up for review the images of two other candidates who had spurned Iowa. Look what happened to Gore in 1988! And to McCain in 2000!

But with all due respect to Iowa, there is a creeping recognition among analysts that it does not pay off to bind the presidential political future to the Iowa casino on January 19. One of the perceived favorites in Iowa at the moment is Dick Gephardt, who is to Democratic politics what Old Faithful is to Yellowstone Park, always there, always institutionally reassuring, guaranteed not ever to cross a picket line. Are the Iowa Democrats promising that if Gephardt wins in Iowa, he will win at the convention in Boston in July?

The stake Democrats have in events in Iowa is felt keenly in tracing the speed of the political calendar. New Hampshire happens one week after Iowa. Exactly one week after that, you get South Carolina—and also Arizona, Delaware, Missouri, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. At that point you have four long days to wait for Michigan, then one more day for Maine, two more for Tennessee and Virginia. Then Wisconsin on February 17, Idaho on February 24, and just about everybody else on March 2.

The nervous Democrat, observing the leftward heel of the candidates, will understandably worry lest a launch in Iowa set up a momentum that would take the party right to the nomination in July and defeat in November. They have been listening to Dean and Gephardt denouncing George Bush in terms so categorical as to arouse an indignation in those who voted for Bush. If he is the same monstrous creature depicted by the Democrats maybe he should be not only defeated, but exiled. And those who voted for him? Placed on probation for a few years, before being set loose to vote again?

In their creeping ferocity, the Democratic campaigners welcome any fuse-shortening between Iowa and the nomination. But if the cordite being lighted in Iowa sizzles through to climax in Boston for a candidate that 49 other states have second thoughts about, the Democrats need to worry that second thoughts aren't given much of a chance to be thought, in the lightning-speed political calendar.

If the absence of two candidates from Iowa has the effect of making the Iowa caucus less than conclusive, much will have been gained. Party elders might then look up at Joe Lieberman, and decide to go for the unglamorous senator who, however, has not lost his head.

Understanding Rumsfeld

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 24

The memo by Donald Rumsfeld, circulated, we are told, to only four people, brings to mind the lesson my old friend and mentor, the strategist James Burnham, once told his fellow editors. "My father would say, pointing his finger one by one at the four people seated around his desk . . . 'So—John knows our secret, Jim knows it, Bruce knows it, and Andy knows it. That means,'" retracing the figures with his finger, "'eleven hundred and eleven people know it.'" When Rumsfeld became secretary of defense (for the second time) he marveled at how impossible it was to keep a military secret. It is not easy to suppose that when he wrote out the electrifying memo asking whether the U.S. at war was displacing more terrorists than were being generated, he really thought that only John, Jim, Bruce, and Andy would see it. Of course. It quickly became front page news.

Donald Rumsfeld is a central political figure in our time. Those curious to know more about him should read *Rumsfeld: A Personal Portrait*, a biography by Midge Decter, who manifestly has spent time with her subject and has taken a long look at him.

One learns from this book that Rumsfeld has a way of, well, sizing things up. He was an auxiliary figure in Washington as a young Princeton graduate until he decided to move on to four terms as a congressman. Then he resolved that his unfamiliarity with the foreign scene had to be remedied, so he got himself nominated ambassador to NATO. When the dust settled after Watergate, he was asked to take on secretary of defense, which he did. After the end of President Ford's term, Rumsfeld decided he had had enough of the public sector, and went back to his native Chicago to head up a huge pharmaceutical company.

He brought it out of the woods, refined his knowledge of management expertise, and made a fortune. A few years later, he did this again for General Instrument, a technology company in Chicago. In between he gave thought to running for president and gave critical attention to two commissions that inquired into the proliferation of missile technology and the complementary need to develop U.S. anti-missile technology. And then, of course, President-elect George W. Bush tapped him to serve again as secretary of defense.

That was an august assignment for an

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executive now accustomed to dealing with bureaucracy with the shears available in the private sector. Ms. Decter tells us of the creeping immobilization of the Defense Department in 2001. The DOD had to submit 905 reports to Congress every year, to respond to 2,500 weekly inquiries or complaints from members of Congress. It was monitored by 24,000 outside auditors and inspectors. The overhead was such that only 14 percent of DOD manpower was directly related to combat operations.

What evolved was the Rumsfeld widely admired and ever so widely resented for his directness of style, for his willingness to face his critics with his contentious self-confidence, and, of course, for his identification as supreme military actor in the Iraq war.

But now suddenly, the ever-confident Rumsfeld privately confesses to eleven hundred and eleven people that he can't be sure it is all working, our war against terrorism. He asks that question in the same spirit as, in other careers, he'd pause to ask basic questions, causing in him not paralyzing ambiguity, but hard-headed, Yankee inquiry into what was being accepted as his standing commission in life, like congressional service, service abroad, service in the private sector, service, one more time, in the Pentagon. There his fidelity to the commander in chief is whole, but his powers of inquiry are unimpeded.

We can expect more discussion on that question, are we winning in Iraq? If not, what is to be done? It is by no means inconceivable that the answers here will be by Donald Rumsfeld.

Stopping Illegals

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 31

THE subject of immigration is vigorous on the airwaves. Recently the contest was between an ardent commentator who had served with the INS and a retired general who sounded like George Patton. The general said that illegal immigration could be stopped as simply as by giving him (and the required enforcers) authority to do so. The INS alumnus said that the general was talking about an impossible assignment, 2,000 miles of frontier that couldn't be regulated by neck-and-neck balloons hovering over the border.

Both sides exaggerate. And in any event, whatever doubts one has about an iron curtain that would screen out the illegals, it's hard to doubt that an iron curtain is there in Congress which says, DO NOT STOP ILLEGALS, UNDER PENALTY OF LAW. (NO DETENGA ILEGALES DEBAJO LA LEY.) There are about seven million illegals. Using figures for legal immigrants and extrapolating them, we deduce that one half are Mexicans, the other half shared by Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, and Vietnamese. The big question reduces almost always to Hispanic immigration.

Why can't we enforce the law? The INS analyst has a point, that the long, permeable boundary does not permit a wall plus checkpoints as in divided Berlin. Such analysts are prepared to treat immigration law as in the nature of Prohibition: You can't enforce it.

Next is the argument that U.S. employers would not tolerate sanctions. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*, says the inscription near the tomb of Christopher Wren, the 17th-century architect whose splendid achievements include St. Paul's Cathedral, where he is buried. *If you want a monument to Wren, all you have to do is look about.* That translates, in modern idiom: If you wonder where illegals are working, look about. They are everywhere. Some commentators tell us that if illegals were shipped home, there would be nobody there to till the fields or sweep the offices. Sure, if we were starving to death and there were no Mexicans to do the agricultural work, it would still get done, but a head of lettuce might cost $30, if tended by Ivy League graduates.

The next vantage point is political. Theoretically, illegals do not vote. In fact, many do. And they influence the voting patterns of resident legal immigrants, whose vote is very heavy in California, New York, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, and Texas.

Finally, there is the allied question: How do you treat illegals once they are in the country? This is not by any means disposed of by saying simply that illegals are non-persons. You run into moral-philosophical questions: If the pregnant lady coming to term is an illegal, is there a computer mechanism by which that petitioner can be ignored, or shipped quickly to a Mexican-bound airline?

Now these complications are arresting, when thus stated. The increase in the Mexican-illegal school population in California is marked, and getting the child and parent aboard a southbound bus is a doable thing, but it is also a work-intensive bureaucratic proceeding. A slightly removed way of putting on that kind of pressure is to harass the illegals. That is happening in California by use of the supreme sanction in the civilized world. Withholding a driver's license comes just this side of dumping the offender into a pit of hissing cobras.

The primary use of the driver's license is to permit that which most Americans absolutely require. But that license does not bring only mobility, it is the key instrument for banks, credit cards, and voter registration. Governor-elect Schwarzenegger is committed to withdrawing driver's licenses from illegals. What will they do? Return to Mexico?

That is unlikely. And if pressures mount, sufficient to repatriate a half million Mexicans, can we simultaneously keep another half million from seeping in?

A market pressure not mentioned among possible sanctions is the tax. Suppose an employer were taxed $5 for every hour an illegal put in? If enforced, that would hugely change the economic picture, requiring employers of illegals to pay much more—and to charge more for their services.

Would the U.S. public then vote to repeal such a tax?

We'd see how far the rectifications of the market would actually take us.

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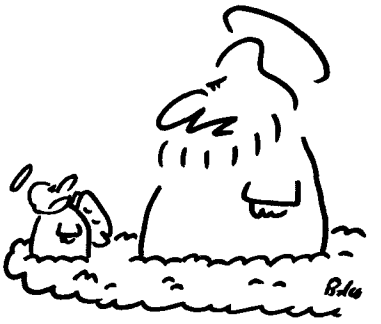

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MARK STEYN

Gettin' with the Beat

DID you see what Sandra Day O'Connor said the other day? Swingin' Sandra is the most reliably unreliable vote on the Supreme Court, the fifth vote on all the 5–4 decisions setting the course for this great Republic, the one the lawyers pitch their arguments to, which isn't as easy as it sounds, given the lack of discernible legal principles governing her erratic pendulum. Clarence Thomas has a sign on the wall of his office: "Please do not emanate into the penumbra." But over at Sandra's pad it's all penumbra: On a bench of opposing ideological quartets, she inclines not to black or white but to an unendingly murky gray. The trick for counsel is figuring, in this constitutional twilight zone, which particular degree of gray tickles her fancy on any given day.

Even so, it comes as a shock to discover that Sandra's now swingin' not between left and right but between the U.S. Constitution and Belgian law. As she told her audience in Atlanta: "Over time we will rely increasingly—or take notice, at least, increasingly—on international and foreign courts in examining domestic issues." Doing so "may not only enrich our own country's decisions, I think it may create that all-important good impression."

Until recently, U.S. courts declined to consider foreign courts. But, as Justice O'Connor was happy to report, that's all changed: In "the famous or perhaps infamous case" on Texas sodomy she and her colleagues relied on a series of decisions by European courts.

Wow. That penumbra stretches a lot farther than it used to. Speaking as a foreigner myself, I've always found it one of the more charming features of the American scene that "progressives" are obliged to find justification for their radicalism in a piece of old parchment. In Europe, they can simply say: We need to get with the beat, daddy-o. But in the U.S. the Left at least observes the niceties and pretends that the powdered-wig guys had somehow ingeniously anticipated the need for a constitutional right to gay marriage or a partial-birth abortion. Perhaps recognizing that this particular penumbra is pretty well tapped out, Justice O'Connor is now saying that there's gold in them thar Scandinavian hills.

No prizes for predicting which way the emanations are going to go once they take the foreigners into account. In considering the pros and cons of

sodomy in Texas, the Supreme Court did not rely on the large body of Nigerian sharia precedents and Taliban jurisprudence in this area. No, the only countries the Supremes seem to have taken under consideration are those in (as Justice Breyer suggested) the Western tradition—i.e., white Europeans.

Given that this is the court that elevated "Celebrate Diversity" from a bumper sticker to a bedrock constitutional principle, it's a little bewildering to find that they cheerfully accord the white European a unique monopoly on the judicial consultancy positions. Heartening though it is to know the white man still has his uses, this privileged access is, alas, unwarranted. For one thing, the fact that the U.S. Constitution is older than the French, German, Italian, Greek, and Spanish constitutions combined suggests that this member of "the Western tradition" is more traditional than others. For another, can you imagine any judge in France, Denmark, or New Zealand taking U.S. court decisions into account when deliberating on, say, gun ownership or capital punishment?

Let me come at it this way. I love borders, the more the merrier—town lines, county, state, and, of course, national. Borders symbolize one of the few remaining constraints on government: You don't like the grade school here in town? Move ten miles up the road. You don't want to pay Vermont sales tax? Drive over the river and shop in New Hampshire. Arianna Huffington huffs against "tax loopholes for fat cats," but I'd say the ability to rent a post-office box in Bermuda or the Cayman Islands is a "loophole" in one of the original 16th-century senses—an aperture to let in light and fresh air. The fact that there's somewhere else to go to is the ultimate limitation on government. Borders give people choices—and, to put in a bumper sticker, "I'm Pro-Choice and I Vote with My Feet." When starry-eyed utopians speak of a "world without borders," you can pretty much guess what kind of a place the one-world one-party state would be, with tax rates starting at more than 50 percent, where they are in Sweden right now.

That's why Justice O'Connor's indifference to jurisdictional integrity and partiality to foreigners is not just a kinky fetish but something philosophically incompatible with the job she's meant to be doing. If you wanted to construct the precise opposite of the U.S. Constitution, it would look an awful lot like "international law." The former is a document that limits the state's grip on the people, the latter is designed to ensure they can never wiggle free, no matter where they go. "International law" is the new colonialism, the imposition on the world's peoples of the moral certainties of a remote, unaccountable Western elite—indeed, one far less tolerant of local customs and culture than the old-school imperialists. The Europeans haven't had much luck imposing their laws on Saudi Arabia and Sudan but, thanks to Justice O'Connor, other backward jurisdictions like Texas and Alabama are about to be whipped into line. **NR**

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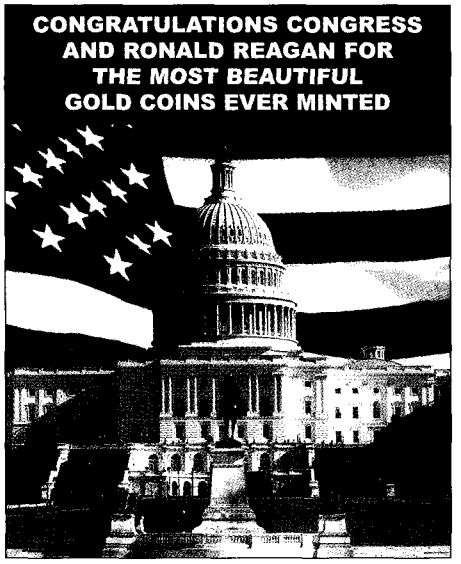

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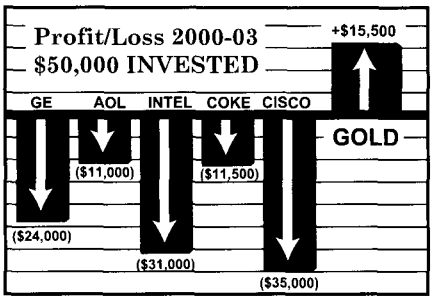

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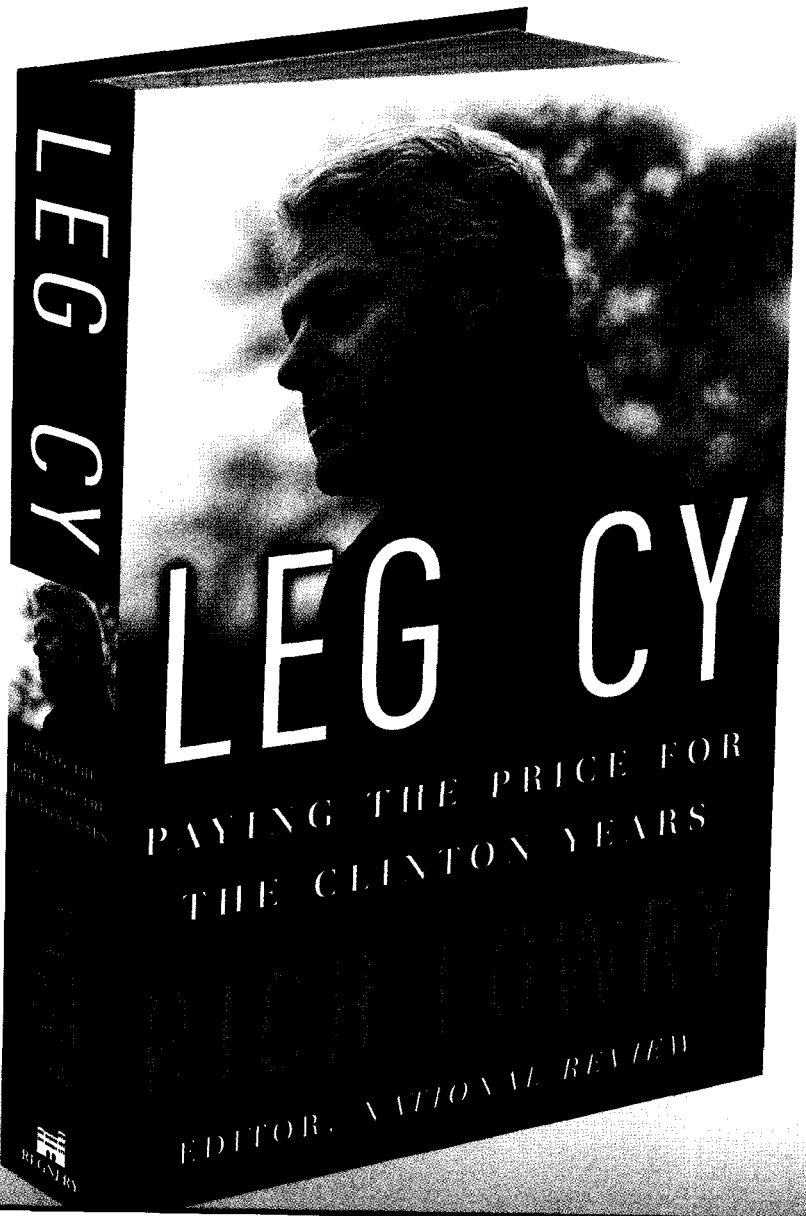

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